FBIS DAILY REPORT

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CSSR DELEGATION HEAD COMMENTS ON MBFR TALKS

AU261743 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Sep 83 p 5

[Interview given by Emil Keblusek, head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the talks on the mutual and balanced force reduction, to a CTK correspondent in Vienna: "On the Eve of a Particularly Important Round" -- date of interview not given]

[Text] [CTK correspondent] The new round of talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and arms in central Europe, which will begin next week, is convening in an exceptionally grave international situation, caused by the plans to begin deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe, especially in its central part, which is the subject of the talks here. The question arises -- to what extent can the Vienna talks contribute to the efforts to preserve peace in Europe and, thereby also in the world at large?

[Keblusek] The responsible tasks assigned to the participants in the Vienna talks have not yet been fulfilled, through the fault of the West. This is so in spite of the immense endeavor of the socialist states, which have submitted in Vienna some 25 miscellaneous proposals, of fundamental as well as partial nature. However, one thing has been common to all our proposals. They have not proceeded from the interests of the socialist countries alone, but have at the same time considered, to a not insignificant degree, Western positions. All of our proposals have thus been, in their nature, compromise proposals. Nevertheless, no specific, positive results have been reached. It is quite clearly the West that is to blame for this as, from the beginning of the talks in Vienna, it has been clinging to its rigid, inflexible concept and repeatedly trying to gain unilateral military advantages at the conference table. In spite of this, not a single round has passed in Vienna without the socialist countries putting forward new initiatives aimed at overcoming the stalemate and leading the talks out of the blind alley. In the present international situation, tangible results in Vienna would substantially contribute to improving the general political atmosphere in Europe. They would enhance security, deepen mutual trust among states in this so sensitive area, and -- undoubtedly -- also considerably contribute to the struggle for preserving global peace.

This was the main aim pursued by the socialist states in recommending this January, in the Prague declaration [of the political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states] a concrete path toward achieving an agreement as soon as possible. In the course of the year, this important document was elaborated into the socialist states' two proposals. I have in mind the comprehensive proposal submitted by the Soviet delegation on 17 February, in the name of the socialist countries directly participating in the talks, and the draft agreement presented by the CSSR delegation, also in the name of the socialist countries, on 23 June. Both these proposals are now on the conference table. The socialist states expect that, after the lengthy summer recess, the Western delegations will finally give a constructive reply to them.

The new round is thus particularly important. It will show whether the West is capable of seizing all the opportunities offered to it by our proposals or whether its course of action in Vienna will only confirm the justified belief that it uses the talks merely to camouflage the implementation of its new arms programs.

MALILE MEETS ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER IN NEW YORK

AU262013 Rome ANSA in English 1945 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] (ANSA) -- New York, September 26 -- Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy, in New York for the United Nations General Assembly, conferred today with Albanian Foreign Minister Reiz Malile following a request for the meeting from the diplomatic chief of the Eastern European state.

The surprise encounter led some observers here to speculate on the prospect that it might mark the beginning of the end of the Tirana Government's longterm isolation.

Later today, Andreotti is scheduled to meet with the American Secretary of State George Shultz, and the British foreign secretary, Geoffrey Howe, for a discussion of developments in Lebanon following the cease-fire agreement.

MALILE MEETS WITH SRV COUNTERPART IN NEW YORK

AU262042 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs, who is taking part in the proceedings of the 38th session of the UN General Assembly in New York, met with Nguyen Co Thach, SRV foreign minister. During this meeting opinions were exchanged on the further development of friendly relations and cooperation between our two peoples and countries and on some international problems. On this occasion Comrade Reiz Malile gave a friendly lunch. Also taking part in the meeting and lunch was Justin Papajorgji, permanent representative of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the UN.

REAGAN VOA SPEECH, TASS REACTION REPORTED

AU262045 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] In a speech broadcast over "Voice of America" which was transmitted, as news agencies emphasize, in 42 languages, the President of the United States, Reagan, once again spoke about the so-called disarmament and about relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. In order to justify the frenzied arms race, especially in the nuclear field, the American President once again accused the Soviet Union of hindering the conclusion of an agreement in Soviet-American talks on the limitation of strategic weapons and medium-range nuclear missles.

Implying that the military balance between the two imperialist superpowers is decisive for disarmament and the preservation of peace and international security, Reagan again appealed to Moscow for a dialogue, for talks of goodwill. TASS, in an immediate response to Reagan's speech, using the same language, accused the American Administration of intensifying the arms race, and increasing the danger of nuclear war, pointing out that all the proposals of the United States in the Geneva talks aim at securing the military superiority of the United States over the Soviet Union. The above-mentioned agency also emphasized that the American side is making every effort to disrupt the existing balance and that the aim of the White House in these talks is to deploy the new American medium-range missiles in Europe.

## LEADERS AT NATIONAL MEETING ON WHEAT GROWING

AU231531 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 23 Sep 83

[Text] Tirana, September 23 /ATA/ -- The national meeting on wheat began its proceedings in the city of Durres, yesterday. Attending were the chairmen of the executive committees of the district people's councils, cadres, specialists, and distinguished working people of agriculture.

Present were also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Muho Asllani; the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and the vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Besnik Bekteshi; the secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Vangjel Cerrava, and other comrades.

The report held by the minister of agriculture, Themie Thomai and the contributions by the participants generalized the advanced experience of the districts and economies which realised and overfulfilled the wheat production plan. Among others it was stressed that a yield of 45.6 quintals of wheat per hectare was received in the high-intensification zone, whereas on the republic scale the planned yield was overfulfilled by more than 1.7 quintals per hectare.

The floor in the meeting was taken also by Comrade Besnik Bekteshi, who greeted on behalf of the Central Committee of the party, the Council of Ministers, and personally in the name of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. He stressed among others that the rich experience gained this year in the fulfillment and overfulfilment of the plan of the wheat production be further extended and developed. He also underlined the need for the intensification of the preparations for this year's wheat sowing.

REAGAN UN SPEECH ON ZERO OPTION CRITICIZED

AU270826 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] U.S. President Reagan spoke at the UN General Assembly's 38th regular session in New York. He put forward the position of the U.S. Administration, including on the negotiations on nuclear weapons in Europe. Reagan did not go further than glorifying U.S. readiness to calm the deeply concerned peoples in Europe and Asia. The previously advertised initiatives on the negotiations on nuclear weapons in Europe turned out to be a regular propaganda action. The new proposals do not vary at all from the so-called zero option, which is based on inequality, and does not respect the principle of the countries' equal security.

President Reagan's speech coincided with Washington's general line of confrontation and upsetting the military balance.

MLADENOV ARRIVES IN NEW YORK FOR UNGA SESSION

AU261633 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Petur Mladenov, leader of the Bulgarian delegation for the UN General Assembly's 38th regular session, arrived in New York. He will take part in the general debates, which are a very important aspect of the session's work. On 30 September Minister Mladenov will present our country's position on the most important world issues.

ETHIOPIAN STATE DELEGATION ARRIVES 25 SEP

AU252105 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 25 Sep 83

[Text] On 25 September an Ethiopian state delegation led by Addis Tedla, member of the Permanent Committee of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council on Organizing the All-National Revolutionary Campaign of Development and Planning, and chairman of the Ethiopian part of the Joint Bulgarian-Ethiopian Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, arrived in Bulgaria. At Sofia airport the delegation was greeted by Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, and chairman of the Bulgarian part of the commission.

FISHING AGREEMENT WITH U.S. SIGNED IN WASHINGTON

AU241226 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 23 Sep 83

[Text] New York, September 23 (BTA correspondent) -- A Bulgaro-American intergovernment agreement on fishing in the 200-mile economic coastal zone of the United States of America was signed at the State Department of the United States of America. On the Bulgarian side the agreement was signed by Bulgaria's ambassador to the United States of America, Mr Stoyan Zhulev, and on the American side by the assistant undersecretary for the oceans and fishing of the United States of America, Mr Theodore Crownmiddler.

The document is an extension of a former agreement in this sphere, signed by Bulgaria and the United States of America in 1976. The new agreement regulates and settles all the questions concerning the fishing of the Bulgarian fishing vessels in the 200-mile economic coastal zone of the United States of America, including the quotas and the kinds of fish, the juridical issues, procedure rules, conditions of principle, etc.

ZHIVKOV, SYRIA'S CP CHIEF BAQDASH VIEW ISSUES

AU251545 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Sep 83 pp 1-2

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee met Khalid Baqdash, secretary general of the Syrian Communist Party Central Committee.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov briefed the Syrian guest on the Bulgarian Communists' achievements and on the successes achieved by the entire Bulgarian people in implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress in further building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria, as well as on the active and constructive foreign policy conducted by the People's Republic of Bulgaria and by the BCP. This policy is aimed at peace and cooperation among the Balkan countries and at the transformation of the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone, as well as at the preservation and consolidation of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

Comrade Khalid Baqdash briefed Todor Zhivkov on the Syrian Communists' struggle for the defense of the vital interests of working people in Syria, for social progress in the country, and for the further consolidation of friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union; on the Syrian Communists' struggle for the unification of all patriotic forces in a progressive national front against the actions of reaction within the country and abroad, and against the imperialist plans to involve Syria in the Camp David agreements. The two party leaders pointed out with anxiety and concern that tension is increasing in international relations as a result of the adventurous policy pursued by the United States and the militarist NATO circles, creating real danger for world peace. They stressed that the aggressive trend followed by the United States and aimed at intensifying the arms race, above all the arms race in the nuclear sector, the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe, and the striving to disrupt the present existing balance of forces to the advantage of imperialism, are excessively increasing the danger of a thermo-nuclear disaster.

Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Khalid Baqdash pointed out that the most important tasks of all communists today and of all decent people in the world is to intensify the struggle for the preservation of world peace, and for saving our planet from obvious disaster. In this connection the two party leaders stressed the importance of the peace initiatives submitted by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact member-countries, expressed and adopted in their Prague declaration and in the documents of the Moscow meeting of leading party and state leaders from socialist countries. It was pointed out that despite the difficult current international situation, opportunities exist for overcoming the present dangerous stage of development and for pursuing peaceful cooperation in accordance with mankind's aspirations. The results of the Madrid meeting are an example of this.

In discussing the Middle East situation Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Khalid Baqdash resolutely denounced the open support rendered by the United States to the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries. Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Khalid Baqdash also resolutely denounced the genocide which the occupiers are committing against the Palestinian people, as well as the constantly expanding, direct military interference of the United States in Lebanon, which aims at transforming this country into a new military base of the United States in the area, and into a bridgehead for new aggressive actions against the Arab countries.

The two party leaders pointed out that imperialism, Zionism, and reaction are trying to divide the Arab countries and to incite them against each other, forcing them thus to accept individually the so-called Reagan plan, which actually represents a continuation and specification of the Camp David agreements. The two leaders stressed that today it is more necessary than ever to establish the unity of all progressive and national-democratic forces in the Arab world, as well as to further consolidate their cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the true friends of the Arab peoples.

Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Khalid Baqdash welcomed the Soviet proposals on settling the Middle East crisis, contained in the Prague declaration of the Warsaw Pact member-states adopted in January 1983, envisaging the total withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and afterwards.

The Soviet proposals also provide for the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to establish their own state. They provide for the guarantee of the rights of all states inhabiting this area to live in security and independence. The two leaders are convinced that the most successful settlement of this problem calls for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East in which all interested sides will participate, including the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

The two party leaders expressed their great satisfaction at the progressive development of relations between the BCP and the Syrian Communist Party, stressing the resolve of both fraternal central committees to continue to work for the further expansion and intensification of their relations on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and on the principles of proletarian internationalism, for the benefit of both the Bulgarian and Syrian peoples, and in the interest of peace and socialism throughout the world.

The meeting, which proceeded in a comradely atmosphere, was attended by Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

FILIPOV INAUGURATES PLOVDIV FAIR 26 SEP

AU261145 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Summary] The International Plovdiv spring fair opened this morning. Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers' inaugurated the fair.

[Begin Filipov recording] "Permit me, on behalf of the State Council, and at the personal assignment of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, to open the 30th International Autumn Fair in Plovdiv and to wish all participants in the fair happy and useful work in the field of our economic and foreign trade cooperation. Congratulations!" [End recording]

Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade, said the following in his address:

[Begin Khristov recording] "The dynamically developing trend of the Bulgarian economy today is revealing the basic changes in our national economy. This trend is characterized by the broad transition to an intensification of the [word indistinct] economic branches, in conformity with the historical decisions of the 12th BCP Congress." [end recording]

After the opening of the fair our party and state leaders visited the various pavillions. This year again the exhibition of Soviet goods takes the major place among those of the socialist countries.

A total of 32 countries are displaying their goods at the exhibition. The consistent foreign trade policy of our country and the growing prestige of Bulgaria as a stable and promising trade partner are also expressed by the considerable rise in the number of Western countries participating in the fair.

This is also confirmed by the fact that while we have been reporting on the opening of the fair, the first negotiations, talks, and meetings are already taking place between Bulgarian and foreign business representatives.

From today until the end of September the city of Plovdiv will be host to all those who wish to cooperate for the sake of a peaceful world.

USSR SUPREME COURT DELEGATION VISIT ENDS

AU261545 Sofia BTA in English 1454 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Sofia, Sept 26 (BTA) -- A delegation of the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, led by Mr Yevgeniy Smolentsev, deputy-chairman of the court, was on visit in Bulgaria at the invitation of the chairman of the Bulgarian Supreme Court, Mr Ivan Velinov. The delegation was made familiar with the work of the other juridical bodies in Bulgaria.

The delegation was received by Mr Yaroslav Radev, vice-president of the State Council of Bulgaria, Colonel General Velko Palin, head of the "Military-Administrative" Department of the CC of the BCP, Mr Dimitur Stoyanov, minister of internal affairs, Mr Kostadin Lyutov, chief prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Mr Evtim Stoimenov, first deputy-minister of justice.

The delegation left this country today.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS BODY DISCUSSES ENERGY

AU222002 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 22 Sep 83

[Text] A session of the Council of Ministers' Committee on the Effective Use of Energy and Raw Material Resources was held today. It discussed the results of implementing the tasks of saving additional resources of energy, raw material, and fuels, in accordance with the decisions and criteria adopted at the national conference held in October 1981.

Since the beginning of 1983 savings have been achieved in a number of valuable raw materials, such as liquid fuels, metals, timber, cement, electric power, and other things. The session devoted great attention to certain ministries, economic organizations, and individual enterprises, which have allowed excessive expenditures of raw materials and energy resources. The leaderships of these ministries and organizations have been called upon and have been forced, with the participation of committee members, to revise thoroughly the work of the lagging plants and enterprises and to adopt measures for overcoming these shortcomings, as well as to hold personally responsible those who have allowed the over-expenditures to occur.

The okrug committees entrusted with the effective use of energy and raw material resources were also assigned the task of revising the work of the lagging enterprises in the respective okrug territories and to devise measures as well as to render personal assistance in improving work.

REACTION TO, COMMENTARY ON REAGAN UN SPEECH

Stasz Commentary

LD262156 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Commentary from New York by permanent correspondent Michal Stasz, speaking in Slovak]

[Text] Even before his appearance in the United Nations, the American President was able to find out what Americans think of his policy. Although the police turned the area into a fortress, demonstrators' chanting could be heard at the United Nations General Assembly building. The demonstrators criticized the very policy Reagan so vehemently defended. His 20-minute address, more than ever, was full of big words about peace and amounted to a defense of his policy. Here, in the UN building, his words were eagerly awaited because member-states wanted to know what, in fact, is the U.S. attitude to the organization. A few days ago, the Presdient said that the world organization was free to move out of the United States. However, today this was not mentioned at all; on the contrary, the President highly praised its role.

[Begin Reagan recording in English] "What has happened to the UN founders? What has happened to the spirit which created the United Nations? The answer is clear. Governments got in the way of the dreams of the people. Dreams became issues." [end recording]

At the beginning of his address the President said that the dream of the nations about the role of the United Nations has turned into a conflict between West and East. But instead of lessening this problem, the American President -- as was expected -- attacked the Soviet Union and blamed it for all evil affecting the world at the moment. Mixing up consequences with causes, he again used the American version of the incident with the South Korean aircraft, although even the U.S. press doubts this and is asking the government more and more unpleasant questions. He complained again about Soviet unwillingness to achieve an agreement in Geneva -- but went on to say that in the future the U.S. Government would be willing to show more flexibility in the deliberations. According to him, the best disarmament proposal would be the so-called zero option, which amounts to unilateral disarmament of the Soviet Union. He admitted that the Soviet Union has not accepted this absurdity and, therefore, announced the so-called new American initiatives for Soviet-U.S. disarmament talks. Dealing with the question of limits on missiles, which is the key question at the deliberations, he said that the U.S. would not attempt to deploy the anticipated number of U.S. missiles in Europe but, as he said, of course it would reserve the right to deploy these missiles somewhere else. His "of course" means that the United States is entitled to have the military superiority it seeks in order to negotiate from the position of strength.

Apart from attacks on the Soviet Union and the socialist community, there were also attacks on the Nonaligned Movement; the President expressed disappointment that the Nonaligned Movement does not follow a path agreeable to the United States. A flood of nice words obliterated the true role of the U.S. forces in Lebanon. The huge military strength concentrated in the Central American region, and the military intervention in Chad, were both presented as U.S. attempts to act as a remedy-seeking mediator in the crisis-ridden centers of the world.

In the address Reagan demonstrated his art of dramatic delivery of a prepared text; however, in politics he has performed in a masterly way only in staging dramatic international actions that have little in common with the United Nations' peace and detente role.

## Reagan Demagogy Scored

LD262041 Prague CTK in English 1940 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] New York (CETEKA correspondent) -- U.S. President Ronald Reagan made today a hypocritical speech at the 38th session of the U.N. General Assembly in which he tried to prove that the policy of his government -- known as a policy of military buildup and preparations for war -- is in keeping with the U.N. Charter.

He used all available means, including distortion of generally known facts, demogagy and outright lies. He spoke of growing violence in many parts of the world which had become fronts of confrontation between the two powers but made no mention of the fact that it was Washington that elevated violence to an instrument of its policy and that foments conflicts in Lebanon, Chad, El Salvador and other countries.

Reagan criticized angrily the policy of the Non-Aligned Movement and accused its members who refuse to follow the course of the United States that they lost their independence.

He again resorted to slandering the Soviet Union, in connection with the provocation with the South Korean airliner, organized by U.S. espionage services. With regard to one of the most important issues of the present, the question of nuclear missiles in Europe, Reagan again said that the zero option is the best way, even though he declared that the United States was ready to discuss global limits for intermediate-range missiles of the United States and the Soviet Union.

## TASS REACTION TO REAGAN RADIO SPEECH REPORTED

LD252030 Prague CTK in English 1949 GMT 25 Sep 83

[Text] Moscow [no date as received] -- U.S. President Ronald Reagan delivered another demagogic speech on the U.S. radio yesterday which he called "appeal to all people," the Soviet news agency TASS wrote today.

The aim of the speech was to try to mask the militarist course of the present U.S. Government -- the course aimed at stepping up the arms race. The U.S. President said for example that the U.S. submits at Geneva discussion proposals which "take into consideration the interests of both sides." He said it at the time when the U.S. proposals are aimed at disarming the Soviet Union and ensuring the military superiority of the United States, TASS wrote, adding that the President claimed that the U.S. is for a considerable and just reduction of these weapons. The U.S. procedure does not lead to the reduction of the strategic weapons but to its increase in the U.S., TASS stressed. Ronald Reagan's claims are at variance with the U.S. attitude to the Geneva discussions where the U.S. side is striving to violate the existing balance and refuses to include the nuclear medium-range missiles of the NATO states, the Soviet news agency said, stressing that the Soviet people are well informed both about the Soviet and U.S. proposals.

The President tried to mislead all people he was speaking to and divert the attention from the U.S. position of obstructions, TASS underlined. Dealing with the incident with the South Korean aircraft, he speculated with the human aspect of the affair, denied the participation of special U.S. services in this subversion, and did not answer the question who has sent the aircraft to the military facilities on the Soviet territory, TASS wrote, and pointed out that the Soviet people are well informed about the facts linked with the violation of the air space of the Soviet Union by the South Korean aircraft. The Americans have not heard the truth from the President.

Ronald Reagan assured that he wants dialogue with the Soviet Union. But his hypocritical assurances are of no value when the whole world sees that the present orientation of Washington is not aimed at a dialogue but at confrontation with the Soviet Union and sharpening of the international situation, TASS stressed.

ANTI-USSR 'PROVOCATIONS' IN NEW YORK REPORTED

LD241751 Prague CTK in English 1638 GMT 24 Sep 83

[Text] Washington [no date as received] -- The U.S. special services launched another act of provation in the atmosphere of anti-Soviet hysteria stirred by the Reagan administration. Three cars of FBI agents blocked the way of the car of a Soviet foreing-trade corporation official in the port of New York, and searched him and his car without giving any reason. A few hours later a group of armed men attempted to prevent the Soviet cargo ship General Kravtsov from receiving its cargo. The Soviet Embassy in Washington has sent a protest to the U.S. State Department.

WESTERN CRITICISM OF BUSH VIENNA SPEECH NOTED

AU261146 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 24 September carries on page 7 a 250-word "PV"-signed West Berlin dispatch entitled "It Suffices to Leaf Through Goebbels..." The dispatch sums up a commentary of U.S. Vice President George Bush's 21 September Vienna speech, published by the dialy DIE WAHRHEIT on 23 September. After noting the West Berlin paper's assessment of Bush's speech as "insane" and "dangerous," the RUDE PRAVO dispatch quotes its criticism of Bush's "interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries" and of his use of "economic and military power policy." Quoting DIE WAHRHEIT, RUDE PRAVO then says: "Indulging in fancies, Bush claimed that 'historically and culturally, the division of Europe is fictitious.' Spiritually, Eastern Europe allegedly belongs to the West, while the 'wild and primitive Russia' stands apart.

"It is known that the politicians now sitting in the White House lack reason. However, the fact that, in his speech, Bush was consciously borrowing the ideas of Josef Goebbels shows that the borders between unrealistic policy and insanity are becoming dangerously obliterated. When Bush speaks of the USSR as an 'uncivilized system' and calls on it to 'join the community of nations,' every commentary is superfluous. It suffices to leaf through the inflammatory writings of the Hitlerite fascists."

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 100-word "SL"-signed Vienna dispatch on Austrian reactions to Bush's speech there. The dispatch quotes ex-chancellor Kreisky as having "expressed doubts" at a press conference "whether the American vice president is really serious about implementing the policy he is talking about," and a Vienna VOLKSSTIMME article "demanding that in the future the Austrian Government not permit its territory to be misused in a similarly blatant manner for attacks against the socialist states."

CHNOUPEK, GROMYKO HOLD TALKS IN MOSCOW 26 SEP

LD262319 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek arrived for a working visit in Moscow today. Our permanent Moscow correspondent Stefan Babiak reports:

At the airport Bohuslav Chnoupek was welcomed by Andrey Gromyko, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and Soviet minister of foreign affairs. In the afternoon, the two representatives met in the Kremlin and opened Soviet-Czechoslovak talks. Their framework is being defined by the realization of the broad program of peace initiatives formulated in the Prague Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states in January 1983, and in the final statement adopted at the July meeting in Moscow of the highest party and state representatives of seven socialist states.

The ministers discussed a number of topical international problems. They pointed out that the present dangerous aggravation of the international tension is caused by the adventuristic actions of the most aggressive forces of the United States and a number of other capitals [as heard] of NATO. Andrey Gromyko and Bohuslav Chmoupek pointed out that these forces are counting on the destabilization of international relations and on the achievement of military superiority over the socialist countries. The two ministers also discussed questions concerning the progress of the 38th session of the United Nations General Assembly. The Moscow talks between Bohuslav Chnoupek and Andrey Gromyko will continue tomorrow.

Gromyko Hosts Luncheon

LD271030 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0900 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] Soviet Union: Talks continued in Moscow today between Andrey Gromyko, USSR minister of foreign Affairs, and Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, who is on a working visit to the Soviet Union. They discussed a number of topical international issues and bilateral relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Andrey Gromyko gave a luncheon in honor of Bohuslav Chnoupek. Both ministers spoke at the luncheon.

DAILY SPECULATES ON ORIGINS OF TOMASEK 'LETTER'

AU261346 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Sep 83 p 2

[Jarmila Houfova, article: "About a Certain Falsification: They Made Disgrace Into a Coat"]

[Text] Recently, we informed our public about the slanderous anti-Czechoslovak campaign unleashed in the West around the alleged letter by Cardinal Tomasek, in which he was said to have protested against the "suppression of the Catholic Church activities" in Czechoslovakia. As is known, the cardinal himself has stated very clearly and umambiguously: He neither wrote, signed, nor dispatched anywhere any letter whatsoever. He said that, as regards the contents of the letter, the full responsibility for it should be borne by the person who wrote the letter. He was indignant over the abuse of his person. Understandably, every decent person in our country shared his indignation.

The word of Prague's primate should carry weight. But the people interested in anti-Czechoslovak slanders have ignored his statement and continued the attacks against Czechoslovakia. The startling thing is that the agency that serves the Holy Church insisted on the lie. Obviously it was reckoned that the cardinal would at least confirm the "letter's" existence by keeping silent.

The bubble about the spurious "letter" has now been definitely deflated. A person called Josef Zverina, who alleges to be a priest (in the past he signed the so-called Charta), suddenly acknowledged to an AFP reporter that he himself is the author of the cardinal's "letter."

He had sent a copy of the "letter" to KATHPRESS, the Austrian Catholic agency which then proceeded to disseminate the slanderous text on 24 August. The provocative pamphlet lacked the cardinal's signature, but obviously the agency did not mind this. Now, after Zverina's statement, it can pretend that it is not to blame. After all, the main purpose which the inspirers of the provocation wanted to accomplish, was indeed accomplished. Understandably, the "protest letter" was taken up by the heckling radio stations and by many bourgeois communications media. Articles about the alleged oppression of the Church and the persecution of Christians in our country, as well as other egregious nonsense, began to appear like mushrooms after the rain. The well-known anti-Czechoslovak heckler V. Meier even went so far as to spread the rumor, through the paper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, that Cardinal Tomasek had suffered a shock during the alleged "investigation" of the entire affair.

The affair of the spurious "letter" is a transparent maneuver, and not the first such maneuver in history. It nevertheless provides an instructive view of the backstage of propaganda centers in the West. These are the guaranteed "true" sources of information on which they are relying! This is the way sensations are born! But this is also the way disgrace is made into a coat, the way one creates one's own disgrace.

Despite Zverina's statement, the question remains open: Who did in fact write the "letter"? Was it the writer who had grossly abused the authority of the Prague primate -- or is the truth quite different? What if the letter was cooked up either by the Catholic press agency in Austria, or by the subversion centers in the West? Let those who have the disgusting humbug on their conscience provide a reply.

It is worth pondering the purpose of the entire provocation, because the report about the alleged "protest letter" was issued immediately prior to the Pope's visit to Austria. Originally, Cardinal Tomasek was to have taken part in this visit. He was invited by Austria's Cardinal Koenig; but in a letter dated 15 August the Cardinal sent his excuses.

Obviously, the inspirers of the staged affair were pursuing one aim: to "explain" the nonparticipation of Cardinal Tomasek in the Pope's visit to Austria by claiming that the Czechoslovak Government had forbidden him to take the trip because of his "protest letter." At the same time they wanted to unleash yet another hostile campaign against Czechoslovakia, on the basis of this "gross act by the Czechoslovak authorities" which are allegedly restricting the Prague cardinal's freedom of movement. The campaign was meant to create an appropriate atmosphere during the Pope's visit, and it was reckoned that it would strengthen some kind of opposition forces in Czechoslovakia "against the regime." Thus the script fits perfectly into the psychological war waged by the anticommunist centers that are directed from the United States against the socialist countries.

Our people know that Czechoslovakia and the other countries of the socialist community are the target of systematic hostile attacks in the international coordinated anticommunist battle. From our own experience we ourselves can test the innumerable lies which appear more or less periodically, and are addressed to us, too. And time and again our people ask: Why do we not immediately respond to these attacks, why do we not disprove the fabrications?

But we would have to respond to them every day! Because the anticommunist centers are being richly paid for incessantly fabricating misinformation, slanders, forgeries. The affair we are writing about today is merely one of a hundred other affairs. But nevertheless we should keep it in mind. It is most instructive.

## JAKES ADDRESSES PRACTICAL-THEORETICAL CONFERENCE

LD270213 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] A practical-theoretical conference on raising the influence of the party on the acceleration of the scientific-technological development, was held in Bratislava today. The main paper dealing with experiences from accelerating the scientific-technological development in the conditions of the city was delivered by Gejza Slapka, member of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee and leading secretary of the city party committee in Bratislava. He emphasized that a speedier implementation of the results of the scientific-technological development put greater demands on strengthening the role and function of central management and realizing the leading role of the party.

Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee, speaking at the conference, praised the attention paid by the city committee of the CPSL in Bratislava to detailing the conclusion of the 8th CPCZ Central Committee Session. He said that the effective utilization of all reserves could be accelerated above all through the concentration of the scientific-research basis on the most important tasks, a closer cooperation of basic research, the high schools, applied research, and preproduction stages and production. Comrade Milos Jakes also emphasized the importance of raising the productivity of labor, effective structural changes in the economy, rational utilization of the production potential, and the broad opportunities for cooperation with other countries of CEMA, the USSR in particular.

## LEADERS MARK 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF WORKERS MILITIA

### Politburo Members at Ceremony

LD232326 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1603 GMT 23 Sep 83

[Excerpts] Berlin, 23 Sep (ADN) -- On Friday in Berlin Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, conferred high state awards to mark the thirtieth anniversary of the existence of the workers militia.

Taking part in the festive awards ceremony with Erich Honecker were the Politburo members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; Horst Dohlus; Joachim Herrmann; Army General Heinz Hoffmann; Guenter Mittag; Konrad Naumann; Harry Tisch; Paul Verner; Werner Jarowinsky; and Werner Walde. Also present were General Friedrich Dickel, minister of the interior; and General Herbert Scheibe, head of the Department of Security Questions of the SED Central Committee, as well as first secretary of the SED area executives.

### SED Greetings on Anniversary

LD241046 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0159 GMT 24 Sep 83

[Text] Berlin 24 Sep (ADN) -- "Peace and Security in the world depend decisively on the strength of socialism. In view of the policy of confrontation and arms escalation of imperialism, especially the United States, great efforts are needed to maintain peace." This is stressed by the SED Central Committee in a greetings message on the 30th anniversary of the founding of the workers militia [Kampfgruppen] of the GDR working class.

It states that the workers militia has always proven itself as a force for strengthening peace and is making an important contribution in close cooperation with the other armed forces to the reliable protection of socialism and to the maintenance of peace.

"Led by the SED, the workers militia of the GDR working class has developed successfully as a revolutionary instrument of power," it states. "In continuing the glorious traditions of the German proletariat and its armed organizations, it has proved its worth in complex military situations and has always fulfilled its class mission honorably."

### Honecker Offers Toast

LD232349 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1721 GMT 23 Sep 83

[Text] Berlin, 23 Sep (ADN) -- A festive gathering to which the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and Council of Ministers of the GDR invited meritorious members of the workers militia, began on Friday evening in the Palace of the Republic. It brought together fighters, NCO's and commanders of the workers' battalions and the GDR party and state leadership.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, was given a stormy welcome. Earlier he had awarded worthy workers militia members and collectives the highest state decorations.

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers, Erich Honecker congratulated all fighters, NCO's and commanders very warmly in a toast on the 30 years of existence of the working class militia. In particular, our congratulations apply to all those comrades who were today awarded high state decorations, he said. "With this joint gathering we also want to thank the wives present for the long years of support they have given their husbands in their service in the honored uniform of the workers militia of the working class. I warmly welcome representatives of the people's militia and workers militia from our socialist fraternal countries, the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic as well as from the friendly People's Republic of the Congo."

Erich Honecker continued: "The anniversary of the workers militia, this revolutionary instrument of power of the working class, is a great social event for our entire people. Especially on this occasion, the working people express how firmly they are allied to them. In bringing to life and continually developing the workers militia of the working class, our party has acted according to the Leninist principle that a revolution is valuable only if it can also defend itself. Our workers militia is thus one of our greatest revolutionary achievements. It is very closely linked to the birth and strengthening of our country. For three decades it has striven for outstanding achievements in the reliable protection and defense of the workers' and peasants' state in our socialist German Democratic Republic. All their members can be rightly proud of this."

As is known, their pledge is to carry out the directives of the party as fighters of the working class, to protect the GDR and its socialist achievements at all times, with weapons at the ready, and lay down their lives for this, said Erich Honecker. They act in accordance with this in every situation and fulfill their responsible tasks in the interests of the entire people. They contribute to the successful implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress in daily practice.

From year to year the workers militia has won further fighting capability and assumes a firm place in the socialist defense of the country, he said. Together with the other armed forces of our country, it is prepared to protect peace and socialism against every attack.

"On this day we thank with all our heart all fighters, NCO's and commanders, the members of the honorary work groups, the thousands of comrades in the basic organizations, district and area executives of our party, in the German People's Police and the other armed organs who work with such commitment every day for the development of our workers militia," said Erich Honecker amid warm applause.

"To be a member of the workers militia is an honorable duty. Characteristics of a fighter are loyalty to the party and devotion to the cause of socialism. We all know that it is not easy to carry out one's daily work and also hold one's own in the service of the workers militia. Not infrequently, this requires that personal interests are subordinated to the protection of our socialist society and citizens. We therefore value all the more highly the service carried out in the workers militia that some have discharged not just for years, but decades. I would like to thank everyone very warmly for this."

Erich Honecker added: "To be a member of the workers militia, today in particular, means to prove oneself as a committed, resolute fighter for peace; for a third, a nuclear world war, the danger of which arises out of the imperialist policy of confrontation and arms escalation, would mean the demise of human civilization. Safeguarding peace is the most important thing.

Europe does not need U.S. first-strike weapons, no Pershing II and cruise missiles, but should become free of all nuclear weapons. They way forward to this is pointed by the proposals of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist fraternal countries."

Tens of thousands of representatives of the workers militia from all areas of our country, he said, will again underline their pledge and give powerful expression to their desire for peace tomorrow in the GDR capital of Berlin at a historic site. They will demonstrate that the protection of the workers' and peasants' state lies in good hands. Erich Honecker proposed the toast: "Let us raise our glasses and drink to the workers militia of the working class of the German democratic Republic, our socialist fatherland, to the further strengthening of socialism and peace, to your good health."

## Honecker Address at Parade

LD241355 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0908 GMT 24 Sep 83

[Text] Berlin 24 Sep (ADN) -- Here follows the text of the speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, at the parade held in Berlin on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the workers militia [Kampfgruppen]:

On the 30th anniversary of the workers militia I convey to you and to all fighters in our republic the warmest greetings and congratulations from the SED Central Committee, the Council of State, and the Council of Ministers of the GDR. Your impressive demonstration here in the heart of socialist Berlin is a living expression of the fact that the sacrifices of the German proletariat in the struggle against imperialist war and fascism, for the social liberation of our people were not in vain. You stand for the protection of the first workers' and peasants' state on German soil.

Three decades of workers militia show that we are not among those who have lost sight of the lofty goals of the German working class movement. These decades demonstrate that our party, the party of Ernst Thaelmann, is always guided, in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, by the Leninist principle that a revolution is valuable only if it can defend itself.

A source of satisfaction to the friends of our republic and an unmistakeable admonition to our enemies is the fact that our republic knows how to defend itself. In our indestructable, eternal alliance with the Soviet Union and all other socialist fraternal countries, we defend socialism and peace today and for all of the future.

We are on the eve of the time when a change in the history of Europe took place with the founding of the GDR 34 years ago. Next year we shall be celebrating the 35th anniversary of the founding of socialist Germany, which came into being as a result of World War II and postwar developments. Thirty-four years ago there were not a few people on this side and the other side of the Elbe who refused to acknowledge a future for our republic. But in alliance with the peasants and the working intelligentsia, the GDR working class proved that it is a force that underpins the state since this state is theirs.

Today the first socialist German state, the GDR, and its existence in the heart of Europe, is a source of hope for all who strive for peace and social justice, and at the same time a warning to those who believe they can turn back the wheel of history. On the eve of the 34th anniversary, at this powerful parade by the armed working class we say:

Look at this republic, see what has become of it, and you will recognize what can be achieved if the men and women of the working class take the wheel of history into their own hands, on a resolute course of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community for peace and socialism. Our country is among the foremost industrialized nations of the world -- with a national income of over 200 billion marks a year, with an industrial commodity production of 360 billion marks, with growth rates of between 4 and 5 percent both in products and in labor productivity. Our socialist agriculture is proof of what can be achieved through the alliance of workers and peasants. Important discrepancies between town and country have been overcome -- in the sphere of education, in the housing sector, and much more.

Our country rose from the ruins, our socialist Germany blossoms and flourishes. Through all this, through children and grandchildren, care for the old, through all this we are strengthened in our resolve to make our contribution to the maintenance of peace and consolidate the welfare of the people. This is peace in action. This is freedom for everyone, if he is determined to defend the freedom of our republic. The members of the workers militia have always fulfilled their class mission and provided an example of commitment to obligation, patriotism, and combat readiness. With this powerful demonstration in the GDR capital you declare your loyalty and devotion to the SED, to the ideals of socialism and peace.

The SED Central Committee expresses its wholehearted appreciation for your outstanding performance in protecting socialist achievements. This applies to all those who so actively support our workers militia. Our thanks go not least to veterans of the workers militia and all those who have had a part in the formation of our armed workers militias.

In the coming year too, you have great tasks to fulfill. This requires a high degree of commitment and growing military skills on the part of each fighter, NCO, and commander in order to guarantee combat readiness in all conditions. I wish all comrades in the workers militia a successful end to their 1983 training year. I wish them and their families good health, happiness, and prosperity.

COMMENTARY ON REAGAN'S UNGA SESSION SPEECH

LD262315 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2110 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Horst Kaeubler report from New York]

[Text] As the U.S. President's black bulletproof limousine drew up outside the UN headquarters here in New York, the chants of a crowd of people that had gathered directly opposite the UN building rang out loudly: Curb the Pentagon; United States Out of Central America; No New Vietnam in Lebanon; Money for Jobs, Not for War.

In his speech at the start of the UN general debate, the U.S. President was clearly at pains to appear as a statesman to be taken seriously. President Reagan assured the General Assembly that nuclear wars are not winnable, that Washington wants substantive arms control agreements, and that the door to agreements is open. In this connection the American head of state announced new proposals for the Geneva negotiations which he claimed prove the United States' flexibility. Specific details have not yet been given, but according to sources in the American delegation, these proposals do not mean that the Reagan administration will dispense with the deployment of the Pershing II and cruise missiles, but at best is prepared for some modifications of the deployment plans for Western Europe.

The U.S. President did not say a word about the Soviet Union's proposals, which start from the inviolable principle of equality and equal security between the missile potentials of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The question that arises here today at the UN headquarters in New York is whether the U.S. Administration wants to cover up the rigid attitude which has so far blocked an agreement at Geneva by putting on a show of flexibility. Do they want, through a sudden more conciliatory tone from Washington, to calm the Western allies' fears that just a few months before the start of deployment of the new U.S. nuclear missiles the Geneva negotiations are marking time? Do they want to pretend to be returning to dialogue merely in order to damp down a "hot autumn" of worldwide protest actions against the American confrontation policy?

Although the U.S. President refrained in his speech to the UN today from making offensive anti-Soviet remarks, as he has done in so many recent statements, his statement nonetheless showed no retreat from the anticommunist crusade policy which the present administration has proclaimed as the main substance of its foreign policy.

Reagan's speech contains no solemn renunciation of first use of nuclear weapons such as that already announced by the Soviet Union. Reagan's statement also does not include readiness to freeze nuclear arms, as demanded by the peace movement here in the United States, too. Despite the President's statement that new nuclear weapons systems have introduced a frightening element into international politics, the Reagan administration still insists on its right to continue the construction of a nuclear first-strike potential. Reagan's statement even introduces new and dangerous aspects in that the U.S. Administration is saying more and more openly that the European peace system embedded in the Helsinki Final Act is not acceptable to the United States.

Does this concept not conceal an attempt to revive the fateful policy of expansionism? Is this attempt not being made just at the moment when Washington wants to adhere to the deployment plans for the Pershing II's and cruise missiles? The UN general debate which began today here at UN headquarters in New York will give the assembled member-states sufficient opportunity over the coming weeks to submit to this world forum, in the face of the threatening international situation, their ideas for safeguarding peace.

SED, DKP, SEW ISSUE JOINT APPEAL FOR PEACE

LD261718 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1424 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Berlin, 26 Sep (ADN) -- The SED Central Committee, the DKP Executive, and the SEW Executive have addressed an appeal to the parties of the workers' mevement, trade unions, and youth organizations and to all people of Europe who want to live in peace. The text is as follows:

We communist parties on German soil -- the SED, DKP, and SEW -- are raising our voices at a time when decisions of great consequence are pending which will affect the fate of all European peoples, even the whole of mankind. At the end of World War II, after the destruction of Hitler's fascism, German communists, together with German social democrats, Christians, and non-Christians, swore an oath to do everything possible to ensure that no war can ever again emanate from German soil. In this commitment lies the legacy of 50 million dead, the fighters against Hitler's barbarism, those murdered by fascism, and the victims of the battlefields and the bombing raids. We have worked and struggled for this goal for 3 decades:

In the GDR, by building up workers' and peasants' power, the first socialist German peace state;

In the Federal Republic of Germany, by resisting remilitarization and working for detente and social progress;

In West Berlin, by working against the frontier city policy and for relations of peace and cooperation with the GDR.

Today we state: The threat of a new war from German soil, from the territory of the Federal Republic, is being repeated with the planned siting of new U.S. medium-range missiles because:

-- these are first-strike weapons, aimed at the USSR and the other socialist states;

-- they are strategic weapons whose deployment would destroy the military-strategic balance;

-- they are mass destruction weapons that serve a policy of confrontation and crusade and are intended to make a nuclear war in Europe wageable.

The conversion of the Federal Republic into a launching pad for U.S. first-strike nuclear weapons not only gives rise to the risk of the FRG's self-destruction but also threatens the security and life of all European peoples.

Europe, however, must not become Euroshima. There is still time to avert a new round of the nuclear arms race that would further aggravate the international situation and the threat of war. Proposals have been tabled with this aim. Given good will, negotiated solutions are possible for every controversial issue. The USSR has made far-reaching offers on reducing arms. The Warsaw Pact supports a treaty on renouncing the use of military force and supports the upholding of peaceful relations. The GDR supports Sweden's initiative for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Europe. Well-known figures and political groups in the United States and in West European countries call for a freeze on the nuclear weapon arsenals, for the non-deployment of U.S. missiles and other steps in a real security policy. Hundreds of millions of people in East and West, in a world-encompassing peace movement, are demonstrating their desire for disarmament, peace, and cooperation.

Nevertheless, the threat is continuing to grow. Insane arms programs are being decided in the United States which threaten to make not only the Earth but also space the scene of nuclear clashes. The Geneva talks are threatening to break down because the United States refuses to respect the fair principle of equality and equal security and is striving for superiority. In the interest of life on our planet for our generation, for our children and grandchildren, we appeal for all possible political action, dialogue, parliamentary initiatives and mass protests to be used in order to prevent the siting of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

We are in favor of an agreement in Geneva corresponding to the principle of equality and equal security, and if necessary, to continue negotiating instead of siting missiles. We support zones free of nuclear weapons as steps toward a nuclear-weapons-free Europe.

[Signed] SED Central Committee, Erich Honecker

DKP Executive, Herbert Mies

SEW Executive, Horst Schmitt

EVANGELICAL CHURCHES SYNOD ON MISSILE DEPLOYMENT

AU251605 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 21 Sep 83 p 1

[Excerpt] Potsdam (NZ) -- At its third meeting, which ended yesterday, the Fourth Synod of the Federation of Evangelical Churches of the GDR most urgently warned against the deployment of new missiles in a unanimously adopted declaration. "We see the danger that the deployment of nuclear arms systems of the Pershing II type and cruise missiles represents a new step of the military threat and will again introduce a new round of the nuclear arms race." This situation especially calls for the churches' responsibility for peace. "Now there is still time to achieve a solution". The members of the synod express the expectation that the Geneva negotiations will be successfully concluded and that the negotiating partners will undertake constructive steps. The declaration stresses that a moratorium on the introduction of nuclear missiles of shorter range will have a positive influence on the negotiations.

NAUMANN ADDRESSES BERLIN BEZIRK PARTY AKTIV

AU151803 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Sep 83 p 8

[Helmut Wawzyniak report on Berlin party aktiv meeting on 13 September]

[Excerpts] On Tuesday a bezirk party aktiv meeting marked the beginning of the party elections in Berlin. The event, in the Great Hall of the Palace of the Republic, at the same time opened the 1983-84 party school year and the FDJ school year. Meritorious propagandists were honored for the exemplary work of many years in the party school year and the FDJ school year . Konrad Naumann, SED Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the bezirk leadership addressed the 3,000 party activists.

Proceeding from the successful results that were achieved in all fields of social life in the capital in solving the tasks set by the 10th SED Congress, Konrad Naumann reported on the further implementation of the decisions of the party congress.

The main thing in the accountability-report election assemblies is that all comrades are waging the struggle for fulfilling the decisions of the 10th party congress even more efficiently, the speaker stressed. He noted that the party elections are of particular importance at the present time and in view of the international class struggle. An essential contribution must be made in the struggle for preserving peace, against the threatening deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe.

A high performance increase in the national economy is necessary for strengthening socialism, Konrad Naumann stressed. He noted: The preparation of the eighth conference of Berlin's best workers, which will take place in a few days shows that the leadership organs of the party and trade union are in the position to set initiatives and actions which result in a high increase in economic efficiency. The political-ideological work with the people is and will remain the main concern of the party, the speaker stated. Therefore, every communist must be able and ready to conduct the political talk in the enterprise or in his residential district with all citizens. This presupposes that one is familiar with their questions and concerns and does not evade problems.

Konrad Naumann called the reliable mastering of basic knowledge of the ideology of the workers class and the creative application of the acquired knowledge in the political talk a class assignment for any communist. Therefore the center of the election assemblies in all basic organizations must be to develop the trustful relations with all working people on an even closer basis and to further improve the working style characterized by affinity with the masses.

REAGAN SPEECH TO UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY OUTLINED

LD261949 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] The general debate of the 38th session of the UN General Assembly opened this afternoon, central European time. Ronald Reagan was the first speaker. His speech is now outlined by our correspondent, Elemer Csak:

[Csak] The American President made a three-point proposal, embedded in the words of a propangandistic peace appeal, for reducing the number of medium-range missiles. However, it is primarily in the way it is phrased that the American initiative contains new aspects. The way Reagan put the American concepts concerning Euromissiles was as follows: The United States proposes a global limitation, Reagan said, and if the USSR agrees to this, Washington will counterbalance the total number of Soviet missiles by deploying missiles outside Europe. At the same time, the U.S. reserves the right to deploy similar weapons anywhere.

Reagan stated that his government would show greater flexibility at the talks now in progress and, in addition to the missiles, it would be prepared to take into account, in a potential agreement, the number of medium-range planes, too. As the third point of the American proposal, the President announced that the United States was prepared to reduce not only the number of cruise missiles to be deployed in Europe but also the Pershing II's.

Explaining the speech, American Government officials have pointed to its being deliberatly blurred. It appears from the words of the commentators that the administration in Washington continues to use its own interpretation of the balance of forces. It considers the deployment of American missiles in Europe as a basic precondition of the talks. For the time being it shows no inclination to include the French and British missiles in the balance of medium-range weapons. As for the expression "global limitation," according to the explanation given by experts, this means that the United States does not necessarily want to counterbalance the missiles deployed by the USSR on its Asian territory by deploying Euroweapons.

Incidentally, Reagan stressed that all these concepts were discussed with the NATO countries and Japan, and that Washington remains in close contact with its allies in this matter. Ronald Reagan made the USSR responsible for the deadlock at the arms reduction talks, leveled the charge of worldwide expansion against it and tried to prove, as he put it, that the "United States is the leading champion of peace and the self-determination of peoples."

Exactly the opposite slogans to this statement of the President were voiced by demonstrators whose voice formed a chorus of criticism of the President's policies while they stood outside the UN headquarters for several hours.

Following Reagan's speech the general debate of the General Assembly continued, in accordance with traditions, with the Brazilian delegate's speech. The debate over the some 140 points on the agenda is attended by the majority of the member-countries at foreign minister level. Peter Varkonyi, head of the Hungarian diplomatic service, is also staying in New York. Parallel to the General Assembly session, a meeting of heads of state and government is also taking place. This was proposed by Indira Gandhi, the current chairperson of the Nonaligned Movement, to be held without a concrete agenda. As already reported, the summit conference is being attended by Pal Losonczi, President of the Presidential Council.

NEPSZAVA PUBLISHES DRAFT ELECTORAL LAW

WA261200 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 9 Sep 83 p 5

[Draft of the Law on Electing Deputies to the National Assembly and Council Members]

[Text] To further develop socialist democracy, to broaden the electoral system's democracy, to make the activity of the elective bodies more efficient, and to simplify the preparation, holding and organization of elections and election procedures, the National Assembly -- in accordance with the constitutional principles -- hereby regulates the election of deputies to the National Assembly and council members as follows:

Chapter I

Right to Vote and Eligibility for Public Office

Section 1

1. On the basis of a general, equal, and direct right to vote, voters elect by ballot the deputies of the National Assembly and the members of the village, municipal, and Budapest district councils (hereinafter: local councils).

2. The local councils elect by ballot the members of the Budapest Municipal Council and of the megye councils.

Section 2

1. Every adult citizen of the Hungarian People's Republic has the right to vote.

2. In an election, each citizen who has the right to vote has one vote. All votes are equal.

3. The following do not have the right to vote:

a. the insane;
b. persons whom the court has banned from participation in public affairs;
c. prisoners serving a sentence and persons in strict custody.

Section 3

Anyone who has the right to vote is eligible to be elected a deputy of the National Assembly or a council member.

Chapter II

Election

Section 4

1. Deputies of the National Assembly are elected by election districts and on the national ticket. The rights and obligations of the deputies elected by election districts and of the ones elected on the national ticket are identical.

2. Members of local councils are elected by election districts. In villages that belong to a common village council, the elected council member is also a member of the village administration.

Section 5

1. Each National Assembly election district elects one deputy to the National Assembly, and every council election district elects one council member.

2. The Presidential Council of the People's Republic (hereinafter: Presidential Council) determines the number of deputies that can be elected on the national ticket.

3. The local councils elect, respectively, a specified number of members of the Budapest Municipal Council and members of the megye councils.

Section 6

1. The Presidential Council determines the number of National Assembly election districts, their areas, seats and serial numbers.

2. Within the limits specified in this law, the Budapest Municipal Council and the megye councils determine the number of their respective council election districts. The executive committee of the local council determines the areas and serial numbers of the council election districts.

Alternative proposal:

Within the limits of the law, each local council will determine the number of council election districts. On the number of election districts depends the number of members a local council has. Hence it is reasonable to let the council itself decide its own size.

An argument against this proposal is that, if adopted, there could be unwarranted differences between local councils in terms of size and there could be councils with too many members.

Section 7

Voters must be registered at the place of their permanent residence. A protest may be filed against omission from, or inclusion in, the register of voters. The protest is decided in the last resort by the court.

Section 8

1. Nominating meetings of voters exercise the right to nominate candidates for election to the National Assembly and the local councils. Two or more candidates are nominated in each election district.

2. Residents of the election district, and workers of the enterprises, cooperatives, state farms, offices, or institutions (hereinafter: workplaces) in the election district may attend the nominating meetings.

Alternative proposal:

It has been proposed to include a provision according to which primarily the residents of the election district may attend the nominating meetings.

Section 9

1. In the election districts, the candidates for election to the National Assembly, respectively to the local council, will be the persons who receive the votes of one-third of the voters present at the nominating meetings.

2. On the national ticket, the National Council of the PPF nominates the candidates for election to the National Assembly, on the basis of recommendations submitted by the political, social, and corporate organs belonging to the PPF.

3. Up to the day before the election and under equal conditions, the accepted candidates for election to the National Assembly and to the local councils may visit their voters, and the PPF or the political, social, and corporate organs belonging to the PPF may organize meetings for them so that they may acquaint the voters with their own activity and outline the objectives they will want to achieve if elected.

Section 10

1. Every voter must vote in person.

2. A vote may be cast for a candidate by leaving his name on the ballot, and a vote may be cast against a candidate by crossing out his name on the ballot.

Section 11

1. A member of the local council or some other voter may be elected a member of the Budapest Municipal Council or of the megye council.

2. When nominating candidates for election, consideration must be given to ensuring that a majority of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council's members are elected from among members of the local councils.

Alternative proposals:

1. According to the law now in effect, an overwhelming majority of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council's members must be elected from among members of the local councils. The present draft modifies this provision so that only a majority of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council's members must be simultaneously local council members.

There is a proposal contending that the proposed modification is not warranted, and thus an overwhelming majority of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council's members would continue to consist of local council members.

2. It has been proposed that a majority of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council's members be elected from among persons residing on the territory of the local councils, regardless of whether they are local council members.

Accordingly, the end of Paragraph 2 would read: "...a majority" -- or if the proposal under Item 1 is accepted, "...an overwhelming majority" -- "are elected from among voters residing on the territory of the local councils."

Chapter III

The Deputy of the National Assembly, and the Council Member

Section 12

1. The election district's elected deputy of the National Assembly or elected council member is the candidate who received more than half of the valid votes cast, provided more than half of all voters in the district voted.

2. In addition to the election district's elected deputy of the National Assembly or elected council member, the candidate who received at least one-fourth of all the valid votes cast is the alternate deputy or alternate council member.

3. The elected member of the Budapest Municipal Council or megye council is the candidate who received more votes than half of the number of local council members electing him.

Section 13

Deputies of the National Assembly and council members shall report regularly on their activities to their constituents.

Section 14

1. The mandate of the deputy of the National Assembly or council member ceases:

a. when the term of the National Assembly or the council expires, or when the National Assembly or the council is dissolved;
b. when the deputy or council member is disqualified;
c. when the deputy or council member is recalled;
d. when the deputy or council member resigns;
e. when the deputy or council member loses his right to vote;
f. when the deputy or council member dies; and
g. when the council ceases due to changes in territorial administrative boundaries.

2. The mandate of the alternate deputy or alternate council member ceases for the reasons listed in Paragraph 1, with the exception of recall.

Section 15

1. The voters may recall the deputy of the National Assembly or the council member who is unable to fulfill his mandate or becomes unworthy of it.

2. A proposal for recall may be submitted respectively to the Presidential Council and the local council by at least 10 percent of the voters concerned; furthermore, in the case of a deputy elected in a National Assembly election district, by the National Council of the PPF; and in the case of a member of a local council, by the local committee of the PPF.

3. The voters vote on the recall proposal by ballot, in accordance with the provisions on voting contained in the present law.

4. The National Assembly decides a proposal presented by the National Council of the PPF to recall a deputy of the National Assembly who was elected on the national ticket.

Comment:

From here on the draft contains detailed provisions on election procedures. In the following we present the most important provisions.

Section 21

In Budapest and within the megyes the National Assembly election districts must be formed so as to enable every 30,000 residents to elect a deputy.

Section 22

1. The number of council election districts must be determined, commensurately with the number of permanent residents, so that there will be at least 30 election districts in a city or Budapest district, and at least 11 in a village with its own council. At least three council members per village must be elected to a common village council, and such a council must have at least 11 members.

2. The number of council election districts may not exceed the following maximums:

a. in a village with 1000 or fewer residents, 20;
b. in a village with 1000 to 5000 residents, 30;
c. in a town or village with 5,000 to 10,000 residents, 35;
d. in a town or village with 10,000 to 20,000 residents, 45;
e. in a village with more than 20,000 residents, 50;
f. in a city with 20,000 to 30,000 residents, 60;
g. in a city or Budapest district with 30,000 to 50,000 residents, 70;
h. in a city or Budapest district with 50,000 to 100,000 residents, 80;
i. in a city or Budapest district with 100,000 to 150,000 residents, 90;
j. in a city or Budapest district with more than 150,000 residents, 100.

3. In forming the council election districts in the case of villages with common village councils, it is necessary to take into consideration the combined total number of residents in the villages sharing a common village council.

Section 39

1. The PPF committees -- in cooperation with the political, social, and corporate organs belong to the PPF -- organize the nominating meetings in a residential area or at a workplace.

2. At the nominating meetings, candidates may be proposed for nomination by the PPF organs, political, social, or corporate organs, worker collectives at the workplaces, or by any voter.

Section 40

1. To nominate a candidate for deputy of the National Assembly, two or more nominating meetings must be held per election district.

2. If the proposed person received a vote at the earlier nominating meeting, all the proposals presented there must be resubmitted to a vote also at the subsequent nominating meeting. However, the already held nominating meeting does not have to be reconvened if additional candidates are proposed for nomination at a subsequent nominating meeting.

Section 41

1. To nominate a candidate for the local council, a nominating meeting must be held in each election district.

2. In villages with fewer than 300 residents, the candidates of the election district may be nominated also at a joint nominating meeting.

Section 42

1. Nomination is by open vote. The candidates proposed for nomination must be submitted to a vote separately, in the sequence in which the motions were presented.

2. The voter attending a nomination meeting may support the nominations of more than one person.

Section 52

1. The voter may vote in the appropriate election district, between 06:00 and 18:00 on election day.

2. The election committee may declare the poll closed before 18:00 if all voters in the register of voters have voted.

3. If local conditions so warrant, the local election presidium may order that the polls open at 0500, and the election committee may order the polling place kept open until 1900.

Section 53

1. To ensure the secrecy of voting, at least two booths must be installed at every polling place.

2. At each polling place, two or more ballot boxes must be set up for casting the ballots. The ballot boxes must be locked so that ballots cannot be removed from them without unlocking the boxes, breaking the seal, or breaking open the ballot boxes.

3. The election committee inspects the state of the ballot boxes before the commencement of voting and enters its findings in the election protcol.

Section 54

1. The chairman of the election committee is responsible for maintaining order in the polling place and its vicinity on election day.

2. The measures adopted by the chairman of the election committee to maintain order are binding for everyone.

3. No electioneering is permitted at the polling place during voting.

4. No one other than the members of the National Election Presidium, appropriate election presidium and election committee, the workers assigned to these organs, and the representatives of the PPF and news media who have been provided with identification cards may stay in a polling place longer than is necessary to vote.

Section 57

1. A ballot is invalid if it was not the official ballot, or if it is impossible to determine from the ballot who the voter voted for.

2. In the National Assembly and council election districts, a ballot is invalid if the names of more than one candidate have been crossed out on it.

3. The election committee's decision regarding the validity of a ballot is final.

Section 72

1. If a National Assembly or council election district becomes vacant, and the district has an alternate deputy or alternate council member, the vacancy is filled by the alternate deputy or alternate council member. In such cases the deputy or council member's mandate must be presented to the alternate.

2. If the election district that becomes vacant does not have an alternate deputy or alternate council member, a new deputy or council member must be elected for the remainder of the National Assembly or council's term (by-election).

3. A by-election must be held also when a new council is formed as a result of territorial administrative changes, and the Presidential Council orders an election in the administrative subdivision.

4. When the Presidential Council dissolves a council, it simultaneously schedules an election to elect a new council.

5. The term of the council elected in a by-election lasts until the next general council elections.

Section 82

1. One member for every 10,000 residents should be elected to the Budapest Municipal Council. Between 70 and 120 council members should be elected to the megye councils, depending on the size of the megye's population and the number of local councils.

Alternative proposal:

In the interest of a more efficient elective body, it has been proposed to elect 150 members to the Budapest Municipal Council, instead of the 201 at present. For the same reason, a reduction has been proposed also in the number of members elected to the megye councils.

2. Within the limits specified in the present law, the Presidential Council determines the number of members in the Budapest Municipal Council and the megye councils. The local council elects the number of members specified by the Budapest Municipal Council or the megye council. Furthermore, several village councils may jointly elect a megye council member.

3. The members of the Budapest Municipal Council and megye councils must be elected within 30 days from the election of the local councils' members, usually at the constituent sessions of the local councils.

Section 91

The present law will become effective the day the date of the 1985 general elections will be announced. The Council of Ministers and the National Election Presidium will see to its implementation.

Enactment of the new electoral law will be an important event in the democratic development of our nation's life and will affect every citizen. Therefore the National Council of the PPF requests that as many citizens as possible participate and express their views in the debates that the PPF committees will organize in the coming weeks. In addition, they should submit their proposals and comments in writing to the local or megye PPF committees, or directly to the National Council of the PPF, and also to the megye or national dailies. (HUNGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY)

The Secretariat of the Central Council of Trade Unions welcomes public debate on the published draft of the electoral law and takes also this opportunity to request that trade-union locals encourage as many members as possible to contribute meaningfully to the debate. The locals should send transcripts of the expressed views to the editors of NEPSZAVA.

MOZGO VILAG CHIEF EDITOR RELIEVED OF POST

LD271144 Budapest MTI in English 1050 GMT 23 Sep 83

["For the Consistency of Cultural Policy" -- MTI headline; punctuation as received]

[Text] Budapest, September 23 (MTI) -- The latest issue of "ELET ES IRODALOM," a literary and political weekly, carries an interview with Dezso Toth, deputy minister of culture and national education in charge of artistic-literary issues, on the negative phenomena of the Hungarian cultural life and the attitude of the Hungarian state management towards them. By way of introduction the deputy minister discussed the importance of literary-political periodicals and pointed out: Considering their aspect, emphasizes, the way how debates are going on in them, and, their publicity, they are important factors in the literary (and not only literary) life's ideological tuning, and its view on society and relation to socialism."

Answering a question on the increased ideological and political responsibility of periodicals and their editorial boards, Dezso Toth said inter alia:

"It means, first of all, the maintenance of the structure of the conditions of debate established in the spirit of the policy of alliance. The majority of our periodicals work properly, however, in the case of some periodicals it is questionable whether they as Marxist organs proclaim non-Marxist views or an non-Marxist organs proclaim Marxist approaches. This is not characteristic, but a new phenomenon, which is due to, beside the irresoluteness of the management, the revival of non-Marxist, include undesired views.

"... Such step by step distortion of aspect violates the structural-organizational principle of the cultural policy that corresponds to the general political line, and its dominant characteristics in the determination of the aspect of Marxism which, beside and by its hegemony position, ensures opportunity for debate for politically non-hostile stands. Any lasting and spreading compromise in this field would involve that debatable views get access to an 'own' organ and opportunity for existence and exert influence beyond their importance and role. Such a grouping, irrespective of intention, would sooner or later draft and systematically represent its own political platform. Finally, a politically plural literary life would come up against a society organized on people's front basis and in the spirit of the alliance policy."

The deputy minister mentioned periodical "MOZGO VILAG" as an example for "swing," "the ideological-political aspect of which has been characterized by 'dubiousness'. "The useful lessons of the exploration of reality in 'MOZGO VILAG' have been overshadowed by a pessimistic and distorting influence. Due to the misinterpretation of the situation and the illusory judgment of conditions, aptitude to new and the justified claim of the readiness of action for reform swing into reform demagogy or suggest entire collapse and incapacity of action. The tone of justified social criticism is being altered with that of mistrust and influencing public opinion by nasty remarks ... It tries to promote the unity of Hungarian literature by disregarding its class concept, and sometimes by 'justifying' nationalistic ideas. In the course of supporting new artistic trends and experiments it offers great scope for sometimes dilettante trends free of criticism and at the expense of the humanistic aspect of arts. All this indicates the falling of the representation of Marxism in the editorial board into the background and a theoretical change in the cultural political role of the periodical. Therefore state management was forced to relieve the editor-in-chief from this post."

Dezso Toth stressed that it would be a mistake to think of restrictions in cultural policy and the limitation of the free expression of views and the possibility of error. "The assurance of the continuity of principles and methods and their consistent enforcement are at stake. ...It is true that in case of difficult and open questions there are more possibilities of error, however, it is also true that there is a difference between errors and a lasting (two year) 'slip' of a periodical despite every warning. Not 'patience has been lost' but it has become clear that more patience could have been showed only at the expense of principles."

The deputy minister stated that such an editor-in-chief will be appointed to "MOZGO VILAG," who "shoulders the implementation of the original programme." On the other hand, state management continues to rely upon Ferenc Kulin, former editor-in-chief of "MOZGO VILAG," "in public life as only certain debatable views of the talented literary historian and critic are unacceptable at the post of an editor-in-chief."

Answering the last question whether similar measures are to be taken at other periodicals in the near future, or not, Dezso Toth stated: "Only if, according to the above said, it is justified and other means and methods have had no results."

## CPSU'S GORBACHEV ARRIVES IN BUDAPEST 26 SEP

LD261137 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has arrived in Budapest. Gorbachev, who has been invited by the MSZMP Central Committee, was received at Ferihegy Airport by Ferenc Havasi, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee

### Meets With Havasi

LD262303 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] One of the leaders of the CPSU is holding talks in Budapest. Mikhail Gorbachev, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, has had discussions with Ferenc Havasi, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. Gorbachev arrived in Hungary today.

## ROMANIAN FUEL ECONOMIES HALT BUS SERVICE

LD210849 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] The Romanian authorities' energy-saving measures form the background to why the VOLAN Trust yesterday stopped its scheduled bus services to Romania. Jozsef Zakhumenszky, VOLAN's acting managing-director, told a staff member of MAGYAR HIRLAP that the neighboring country introduced energy-saving measures last year which led to a halt to foreign bus services out of Romania. It was announced then that they would not be able to receive buses coming to their country from other countries, either, although they made an exception in the case of Hungarian vehicles. In recent days, however, they informed VOLAN that because of the latest Romanian energy-saving measures the concession offered to Hungarian buses would also be stopped and because of this yesterday was the last time that Hungarian buses will leave for Romania. Beginning today the buses will go only as far as the border.

## MATERIALS ON REAGAN'S UN, VOA SPEECHES

### Report on UN Speech

LD261748 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] The general debate began today at the UN General Assembly in New York. It will last for 2 weeks, during which representatives of the various delegations will speak, presenting their countries' stances on important international issues. The Polish delegation, with Henryk Jablonski and Stefan Olszowski, is already in New York.

U.S. President Ronald Reagan spoke today. He presented the modified American proposals on disarmament, which have been advertised for some time now as new. These proposals concern reductions of means of delivery, mutual arms control, and arms reduction in general. However, as the Soviet side has already stressed, after familiarizing itself with the American offer in Geneva, Washington is only proposing a new kind of zero option. Unfortunately, it does not guarantee maintaining the military equilibrium between the political-military blocs, but aims to assure predominance for the West, without taking into account the medium-range missiles that Great Britain and France have at their disposal in Europe.

### Commentary on VOA Speech

LD261638 Warsaw PAP in English 1434 GMT 26 Sep 83

["Tactics Doomed to Failure" -- PAP headline, by PAP commentator]

[Text] Warsaw 26 Sept -- Two days before the expected speech by Ronald Reagan to the U.N. General Assembly, the U.S. President spoke over the Voice of America to make sort of appeal addressed above all to the Soviet people. In the appeal, which provides a particular example of political hypocrisy, he tried to prove that the Americans were seeking for ways of agreement with the Soviet people, but that the Soviet policy mounted obstacles to that. For us, the Poles, it is extremely easy to pinpoint falsehood in this sort of propaganda tactics. Reagan and his administration have for more than two years been incessantly declaring they wanted to help the Polish nation and had the Polish nation's weal at heart even when they were announcing economic restrictions against Poland. Every reasonable Pole knows what is behind this kind of perfidy -- simply an attempt at brutal interference in Polish internal affairs.

Now a similar tactic has been employed in a global scale and introduced to the area of greatest importance for Washington, i.e. the area of confrontation with the USSR. This tactic stands no chance of success. There is not a single man of good will in the world who would fail to understand the fact that responsibility for tension, return of cold war, increasingly dangerous policy of confrontation and armaments is borne solely by President Reagan and his conservative advisers.

## COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DISCUSSES CULTURE, ART

### Meeting Summarized

LD242000 Warsaw PAP in English 2023 GMT 23 Sep 83

[Text] Warsaw 23 Sept -- Today's meeting of the Council of Ministers was devoted to broadly conceived problems of culture and art, the Government Press Office reported. The session was chaired by Prime Minister General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The council got acquainted with the current situation prevailing among creative milieux. Following the periods of some frustration and unrest that accompanied decisions on suspension or dissolution of some creative organizations it was stressed that now those cricles have launched more offensive activities aimed mostly at reviving or setting up new unions and associations.

The government policy vis a vis artistic milieus is overtly oriented on maximum normalization of mutual relations. Both the state authorities and a substantial majority of people of culture and art intend to see the reviving organizations as a real representation and world outlook: the organizations that, while respecting system principles and the laws of the Polish People's Republic, would fight for creative rights and freedoms, for material and social conditions of work and for dignity and social prestige of their profession.

The facts of the law few months [as received] confirm a gradual but obvious improvement. The artists demonstrate growing support for initiatives aimed at organizing the milieu, the council stressed.

The council also discussed the implementation of a law on the national council for cultural and a fund for the development of culture.

Next, the council reviewed a draft law on laws and duties of culture disseminating workers put forth by the minister of culture and art. The law in question will elevate to a highest rank the activities of propagating culture which are significant from the viewpoint of social demands and interests.

The draft law defines duties of the organs of state administration, state enterprises, organizational units, cooperatives and other socialized economy units in the field of disseminating culture. It also maps out tasks for the minister of culture and duties for culture propagating workers.

Finally, the Council of Ministers decided to adopt the draft law on disseminating culture. It also introduced fresh rules for concluding and commissioning editorial contracts and accepted new regulations on remunerating graphic artists.

The council also decided to change rules with respect to signing contracts on writing, translating, and producing plays, as well as remuneration regulations. The council accepted a proposal by the minister of culture and art on setting up a literary fund.

Summing up the course of the meeting, General Wojciech Jaruzelski expressed his thanks to eminent representatives of science and culture for their participation in the meeting and numerous vital remarks.

The general said that the meeting composed of such people is a momentous fact, reaffirming concern by the party and the government in resolving problems of culture in socialist Poland. He expressed his conviction that decisions taken today will well serve this grand national cause.

Next, Gen. Jaruzelski described the most topical problem of the national culture both for today and for the future. He talks about duties of the authorities and the artists in this sphere and about the role that in tune with Polish traditions should be played by social cultural movement.

General Jaruzelski also pointed to tight correlation between Poland's economy and the possibilities of solving cultural needs.

He stressed, however, that there are numberous problems that could and should for that matter be solved free, so to speak, namely by altering interpersonal relations, an approach to social property, by shaping attitudes firmly opposing evil. There are, the premier said, the conditions conducive to promoting, elevating the level and scope of our culture, for enriching the national forms of its expression and propagating its socialist contents.

## Jaruzelski Speech

LD242104 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2025 GMT 23 Sep 83

[Speech by Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski at Polish Council of Ministers session in Warsaw on 23 September 1983 -- recorded]

[Text] I am very glad that following this lively discussion we have reached agreement on the proposals that sum of the numerous ideas presented during our meeting today. I would like once again to cordially thank all our guests, people who are outstanding in their fields -- science and culture -- and, personally, Professor (Zenon Szybulencki) for the acceptance of our invitation and for an extensive and very full scope of remarks and postulates presented to the Council of Ministers.

At the same time, our guests have had an opportunity to see that the Council of Ministers holds internal discussion sessions and that it does have a definite point of view on many issues. As far as numerous questions are concerned, ministers differ among themselves, naturally enough. It is not, as it may seem in certain cultural communities, a conspiracy of trogoldytes who have nothing better to do than to plan the destruction of culture, to make Poland a cultural desert. Such ideas do exist; I mayself have had direct proof of this. No, we are a collective of people who are concerned about eliminating everyday problems to ensure the further development of our country, to maintain a certain equilibrium in areas which, after all, do require particular concern on our part. But it cannot exist separate and apart from the socioeconomic realities in which we live and which we must take into account. I think it is very important that we have been able to meet in precisely this company and to speak of precisely these matters in a constructive and creative manner, one that stands out by the common concern it reflects. I think that this is a confirmation of the earlier actions and decisions, ones that were taken during the very difficult period of crisis. I have in mind, above all, the memorable session of the Sejm on 4 May last year, the passing of the act on the development of culture. I am thinking of the first session of the National Council of Culture, held in January this year. I am also thinking of a number of other important solutions and initiatives on national culture. They were being implemented in the meantime. I am sure that as a result of decisions made or announced today, they will continue to be implemented, with even greater consistency and vigor.

We value very much the fact that the National Council of Culture, which is a representative and stimulating social body, has commenced such active work; that its opinions on the development of cultural life in Poland bear witness to -- I have a right to put it this way -- the close cooperation; that it thus takes an equal part in the process of creating cultural policies; that it plays an ever more important part in the field of cultural policies.

The history of People's Poland, notwithstanding all the fluctuations and difficulties we did experience, is, after all, a history of great achievements and great development of our culture.

I would here wish to emphasize that, after all, in some sense, culture is a kind of symbolic testimony to the values of a given social system, revolutionary transformations it brings with itself.

Opinions that culture has collapsed, opinions about the old cultural desert have been and continue to be an attempt to discredit the history of People's Poland. We cannot agree with such opinions, not merely due to our sense of responsibility for the direction the development of state policies may take, but also due to a moral point of view, because a position like this and opinions like these do not do justice to the authorities, and not just to them, but to society. Above all, they do not do justice to whole generations of those who create and implement culture, those who have made such an outstanding contribution to the achievements of People's Poland.

Even during the most glorious periods in our history, culture, as a rule, was for the elite. It was created with the elite in mind and it was, above all, this elite, that had access to it. Great processes of democratization of culture constitute an integral part of great social transformations that took place in Poland after 1945. It is difficult to negate this. Today's discussion revolved round aspects which pertain, I would say, to this highest level of culture and creativity; and to its dissemination through the appropriate information media.

I think it would be worthwhile to emphasize the characteristic feature of cultural achievements in Poland and in socialism in general -- that is to say, something we term fold culture, amateur art activities; something that, after all, underscores with such potency the national identity of our culture; something that is still an untapped source of our culture; something that at the same time constitutes a factor that powerfully unites all Poles, not just those that live in the country, but also those who, as we know, live beyond its borders.

I think that we must devote much more attention to amateur art activities, to folklore. I remember a conversation with Mrs Emilia Krakowska who spoke with great concern of the necessity of invigorating the amateur movement, teams of poetry readers, dance ensembles, amateur theatre circles, families of musicians. I think that these things are seemingly small, but at the same time very grand, and we ardently urge that special concern should be shown for them.

The 40th anniversary of People's Poland is less than 1 year away. I am not talking here of the festive aspects of this -- we have had quite a number of anniversaries of various kinds -- but I think that this is a good opportunity to give what is due to the period that is behind us and that this ought to be done now, that is to say during a period in which we critically reevaluate numerous phenomena in our history and our past. Why? In order to emphasize our identity, to stress that this effort has not been in vain. I think that this is essential, and I ask the National Council of Culture to be kind enough to concern itself with the problems of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland in the sense of appraising this period from the point of view of culture.

I think that many important solutions and decisions could be made here. I know that there was a time when people were thinking of reprinting the most representative literary works of that period. But, after all, this can be expanded to encompass films, plays, exhibitions and many other things, and contests and competitions of all kinds. An all-Polish competition of the beauty of the Polish language would, I suppose, be particularly close to our hearts. It could be called the Jasoslaw Iwaszkiewicz competition, after the great artist of the post-war period; and so on and so forth. It is an important matter which, beyond doubt, deserves our attention.

Democratism in culture and art continues to be a great and controversial problem. We know that there continues to be a struggle over this slogan. Everyone has his own way of interpreting it. [Word indistinct] we can say, albeit oversimplifying it somewhat, that democratism in this field assumes both institutional form. [sentence as heard]

I think that the setting up of the National Council of Culture constitutes a very eloquent expression of the intentions and tendencies with regard to this, which we wish to continue, develop, and enrich.

Democratism does exist in this sphere of, let us call it repertoire -- creativity. No matter how paradoxically it may sound, during the period of martial law and now, after martial law, there has always been freedom of artistic expression, which is, I think, rather widely and clearly observable. There are no men of letters sentenced to be silent. There are books we will not publish, because they may harm the cause of Poland, of stability of our country and our state. However, it is known that various works by various authors -- frequently quite controversial -- are published on a scale unknown until now. The same can be said of the theatre. The same can be said about films, which have been shelved and which are now beginning to see the light of day. Everyone can see them. This comes in a period that, in certain communities, is seen as one of special oppression.

I am not talking of the graphic arts or music, for these are the arts that have always been able to find wider expression. There are, finally, many measures which, given the enormous difficulties we are experiencing in our economy, do bear witness to the fact that we are not oblivious to the great values of our culture. These values need resources, and these resources are made available: the continuation of the reconstruction of the royal castle, the Ujazdowski Castle, the Raclawice panorama, the rapid increase in the number of books that are being published -- we have mentioned here an increase of 34 percent in 1982 over 1981. This year, likewise, a certain upward tendency is beginning to take shape, notwithstanding all the difficulties we face and which we wish to overcome step by step, to the extent that the possibilities at hand will allow.

We invariably observe the principle of respect for the unique personality of the artist and of freedom of artistic expression, for the manner in which they express ideas, thoughts, and aesthetic sensations, a manner peculiar to each artist.

I will confess I have not heard of truly great works that were prevented from seeing the light of day, from reaching the public. It seems that the stream of above-average works is not stormy, and we should not have any special problems on this score. At the same time, I think that we ought to give preferential treatment to our own contemporary works, in accordance with postulates outlined here; that we ought to ensure their widest possible publication and accelerate this process while, of course, emphasizing and giving the most preferential treatment to the best works from both ideological and artistic viewpoints.

Well, it has been repeatedly stated during our discussion that the field of culture has become, unfortunately, an arena for, and a means of waging political struggle with socialism; a struggle that is being waged by certain representatives of this community -- and I stress certain representatives. We are fully and completely aware of the scale of this problem. Nevertheless, the influence that certain people and communities wield, the noise they make, results in broadening the scope of decisions that have to be made, and in making repercussions more extensive. We understand the complexity of these decisions, the drama peculiar to them.

At the same time we are inclined -- and we have repeatedly reflected this in our actions and will continue to do so -- to be lenient and patient toward all those who need time to reach certain psychological equilibrium, those who find themselves under all sorts of pressure, whose appraisals are shaky, who are disorganized. We do have time, we will wait. But time tends to pass, and a waste of time is a loss for the person who discards time in this manner. Above all it is society's loss, for it is deprived for the contributions that such a person could make to the national culture.

The sole boundary set and defined by us is the supreme interest of the state, seen in a totally calm and prudent atmosphere and at the same time with all the consistency at our disposal. We will defend and guard this interest in the name of our nation, which has had such bitter experiences of the weakeness of the state and of its absence altogether. We count on artistic and cultural communities accepting this policy with growing understanding, since nobody feels better than they the cost of weakness, of being torn apart, of consequent humiliations and defeats, the cost borne by our nation.

Culture in the broad sense of the word is a system of values. Values, however, remain nominal if they are not reflected in social relations. Relations between people represent a higher level of the realization of culture, a particular realization of man's life in a socialist state. The ninth congress and the entire policy of our party nd of our people's state, based on socialism, socialist humanism, is permeated by this approach. All of us, as sons and daughters of the same fatherland, are concerned to see the existence in our community of all kinds of difficult and painful phenomena and afflictions, and that this is the proverbial Polish argumentativeness; everyone is blaming everyone else, everyone is speaking badly of everyone else. Disrespect for fellow man and feuds are not just a style or a fashion. They are, I would say, an outright disease. And this is not a discovery of the past 40 years. There is no need to talk in this company of the pain and bitterness with which the greatest men of our nation spoke about this. It is our duty, the duty of creative circles and of the authorities, to make every effort so that this process of educating the community, the fundamental part of which is selfless, capable of making the greatest sacrifices -- something that earlier history and modern history has proven. [sentence as heard] This community must eliminate from its life everything that is bad, everything that presents a threat to our further progress, development, in the light of the harsh demands that life makes. Technological competition, scientific progress, economic requirements -- all this calls at the same time for great psychological and social mobilization and for the consolidation of values which were behind it.

A particularly important part of the discussion today concerned the large group of those involved in the dissemination of culture, the need to strengthen their prestige and their public recognition. These are, after all, thousands of people who work with devotion in difficult conditions, as we know, in culture dissemination outposts. We must make increasingly great demands on them, but at the same time also create better conditions for them. Our work today is aimed at this and the decisions taken will contribute to this. We are aware and we feel that a person involved with cultural work is in a way a creator himself, a creator of culture conceived in the most democratic way, and thereby a creator of cultured man, and not just someone who is simply employed. At the same time it is very important -- and this was also underscored in the discussion -- that we look with at least an equal or perhaps even greater concern and good will at all those who are active in this sphere of social life, who devote their life and energy to give others the best they have to fulfill themselves through participation in culture. I think that the draft law and other documents we have discussed should wherever possible, in accordance with the suggestions put forward, be filled and supplemented with all that emphasizes the significance of those very people.

We said today -- and our esteemed guests were at times concerned and perhaps even upset about this -- that such difficult and complicated economic and financial problems exist that we are unable to meet the obviously justified needs in this great sphere of national culture. At the same time, however, the fact that we cannot meet all needs, the fact that we talk about it and that we can talk about it -- this is so because these needs have been expanded and created precisely in the conditions of socialist Poland, because we have reached broad circles of the community, if not yet with culture then with the awareness of the need for it.

I believe that this is a great achievement of this period, of the men of culture, the creators and artists of People's Poland.

The need for numerous investment projects and for a more long-term explanation of the existing possibilities of carrying them out was talked about here. One has to say, first of all, that we will continually bear these issues in mind and treat them with the greatest concern and with a sense of responsibility for the future and development of Polish culture. Secondly, however, we have to say with an equal sense of responsibility that this is closely interdependent, that the possibilities of carrying out this intention must be harmonized and synchronized with the pace of the reconstruction of our economy and its further development. As we know, the situation in this area is not good. We cannot make arbitrary decisions. Such decisions, too, had made for many years in this hall here, and the consequences unfortunately can be felt even today. This is why, in continuing work in this hall, work understood differently from before, making broad consultations, working, as we put it, with the curtain lifted, we must with a full sense of responsibility inform the community and those who represent a particularly aware part of this community of all the conditions and difficulties that exist. In this hall once before, at the end of 1981, we said with great concern that the country was on the brink of disaster, that our economy had found itself in a state of disintegration, in fact. Apart from everything else, the introduction of martial law was aimed at saving the country precisely in this respect. We are rebuilding this today with great effort, against all the adversities that accompany it, adversities which I do not want to go into at length here and which are, on the whole, well known.

There is a well known saying that existence determines consciousness. This is the truth. This is a fundamental statement. At the same time, however, one must also say here today that consciousness determines existence, too. Consciousness means an improved attitude toward work, an increasingly efficient organization of it and its increasingly high quality. Everything that results in work at a snail's pace or work without any self-commitment sets us back. It requires the involvement of creative circles and people of culture to make our community aware of the fact that it is the master of its fate and that we must make a great joint effort to restore our economy and our country more speedily to a state in which it can develop, and thereby to improve the situation of the entire community and thus the situation in Polish culture.

Someone might interpret this as quite a simplified appeal for taking up the so-called production subjects in works of art. The point is not to stage the Brigade of Grinder Karhan or to popularize other works of this sort, although I think that a one-sided condemnation of this would be harmful and an exaggeration. There are many works of art, unfortunately they are rarely ours, which in the sphere of human work allows one to find a great wealth of moral problems. I will recall the well-known play and film "Bonus." But let us also take a look at our Polish examples, at our Polish positivists. When there was no independent state there was the great slogan of organic work and work at the roots. Why is it that today we are unable to find slogans with the same fervor as the 19th century positivists.

There are many extremely important national problems that are not problems of the authorities but of the whole nation, of Poland. We have a record population growth. I have spoken about this on many occasions. Over the past few years the population of Poland has grown by 2 million people. At the same time, we have less land, which is understandable, and work shorter hours -- holidays, Saturdays and many other things. At the same time, in this way we work less well, the quality of this work is lower. There is a great deal for all of us to do to make the community realize that the needs of the further development of our nation dictate the necessity of harmonious joint work to overcome difficulties, to build a better Poland.

At the same time, apart from these factors, which in their final dimension are of an economic nature, there are also many matters that can and should be settled by what I will call non-investment means, which only require better relations among people, a better attitude of man toward the community, our common property and our common achievements.

Visual arts, their usefulness, were discussed here. These are great and necessary issues. But, at the same time, before our very eyes, housing projects, their surroundings are ruined -- devastation, dirt, slovenliness. Art, of course, will not replace this, but this must be eradicated through the art of culture, in the broad sense of the word, through shaping people's attitudes, their moral and aesthetic opposition to what constitutes such social evil. There is a well-known saying from Gogal: What are you laughing at? You are laughing at yourselves. We must say this. We are laughing at ourselves, but we are doing so in order to better ourselves, to eliminate what is detrimental to us and hinders our development. We are capable of this because both the traditions of our nation and the road we have laid down in modern history contain all the elements and conditions to overcome everything that is bad, that draws us back; so that Poland is really Poland, in one sense only; in the sense that it must be increasingly good, more affluent, and more and more cultured.

I understood that we are approving the proposals that Professor Zygmunt Rybicki made at the final stage on behalf of the Council of Ministers. I would like to thank all those who took an active part in the elaboration of those materials and in the enriching discussion today. We are submitting the bill before the next session of the Government Presidium, approving today in a general manner its construction, principles, and fundamental content, in order to make the necessary supplements and amendments within this framework. The remaining documents have been adopted. There is a whole package of them. We have not discussed each one of them separately, but if we take a look at them and read them carefully once again we will see how important the range and scope of the decisions adopted today is and how they ought to contribute to the further consolidation of culture, cultural life in Poland.

## Rakowski on Political Aspects

LD242234 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2025 GMT 23 Sep 83

[Speech by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski at Polish Council of Ministers session in Warsaw on 23 September 1983 -- recorded]

[Text] I will start by recalling that the situation, in its essence, is defined by two kinds of contradictions. The first contradiction, which was born or made its presence felt in an unusually acute and aggressive way in 1980-82, is a contradiction between part of the artistic community and the policy of the party, its allies and people's authorities. Allow me a small digression here. I must emphasize the word part, because often the opinion has been expressed that the artistic community as a whole is against this policy or judgments that have been formulated by this policy, or is against tasks that this policy would outline. To adopt the thesis that the artistic community as a whole felt like this means that we are entering the realm of myths, simply, another realm of myths. This thesis, I must add, is being constantly promoted by the hostile or anti-Polish centers of subversion. Well, surely, there is no need to make a great effort to prove that this thesis is false. This community has been divided, particularly during the period I am talking about, and is still divided today, although I believe that the acuteness of these divisions is being gradually alleviated. However, contradictions -- the contradiction I am talking about now was during that period between 1980-82 -- were very acute, very profound, very large, and affected certainly the general climate within the artistic community, or perhaps one should say within the intellectual and creative community.

At the same time it is necessary to say clearly that the effects of these contradictions did not confine themselves to these communities. Through the traditional link between the intellectuals and the Polish intelligentsia the atmosphere and opinions that prevailed within these communities were also conveyed to the Polish intelligentsia. This contradiction which arose between part of these communities and the world of politics, the party and politics, led to an acute political struggle. This acute political struggle is essentially still going on today. However, again it is necessary to state that the acuteness of the struggle we watched in 1980-82 is becoming increasingly alleviated. This is also connected with the process of normalization and stabilization of the moods in Poland and the diminishing opportunity for the activities of the underground.

It is, of course, obvious that not only the forces I have been talking about, that is, the internal forces, but also external forces participate in the political struggle. I am thinking here about anticommunist centres. This is the first contradiction.

The second contradiction, on the other hand, is this eternal contradiction that exists between the world of artists, the world of intellectuals, and, the world of the authorities, if one could define this like that. This is a different kind of contradiction. It gives birth to different conflicts and also different solutions. One has to say, above all, that this eternal contradiction in politics, in different political and social systems has led to various practices. It is impossible to discredit the thesis that in 1980-82 the authorities adopted a position of tolerance and understanding toward persons within the artistic community who stood on the other side of the barrier, or on the top of it, toward those who assessed differently the political situation and the tasks facing Poland, facing the Polish state -- representatives of the authorities, of the centers of authority. I am thinking here both about the party, the allies, and the government.

All administrative activities undertaken in 1982 took place as a result of supreme political interest, or, simply, they were forced to do so because the other side did not wish to enter a dialogue or a discussion.

There is no doubt that there was a great deal of tolerance and understanding on the part of the authorities toward that part of the community. I will recall here the time we spent trying to persuade actors that a boycott of television and radio was not justified and was wrong. Although we knew that this boycott had been organized and the element of it being organized played an important role there, for many months various efforts were made by the authorities to halt this boycott. These activities were aimed exclusively at persuading, explaining. No mailed first method was used. It is even possible that a mistake was made then by the authorities, because certain persons from that part of the community -- I must emphasize, not all of them -- decided that they had become grand figures who had a great role to play on the stage of history. Within these contradictions no critical words can be enunciated. If a critical word could be justified, it would concern minor matters. However, the general life of the authorities both in 1981 and 1982 -- and I am closing this with 1982 when martial law was in force -- was based on the assumption that it was necessary to seek, almost at any cost, accord with this community, with the part of this community, with the leaders of separate communities who had occupied positions decisively negative or hostile, as a result of their beliefs or for many other reasons.

The authorities, as this is the accepted name for the government and the party, the authorities are open to a partner-like dialogue. They were open and still are. In actual fact, it depends only on the creative community, on its activeness, whether this partner-like dialogue will function and bring the expected result.

## Kubiak on Additional Problems

LD242226 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2025 GMT 23 Sep 83

[Speech by Professor Hieronim Kubiak, chairman of the PZPR Central Committee Culture Commission, at Polish Council of Ministers Session in Warsaw on 23 September 1983 -- recorded]

[Text] On behalf of the PZPR Central Committee Culture Commission I would like to recommend warmly to the council that this legal act be passed in such a way that this profession can proudly exist among the other professions in our homeland. I know that not every financial problem of this profession has been solved here, but not everything can be done at one stroke. If this is the first step, I believe it is a step in the right direction.

Also speaking here on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee Culture Commission, there are still a number of additional problems which perhaps could not be solved just yet but which to be thought about and worked on further. In creating norms now, one should not make wise future solutions impossible. If we create a profession through legal decisions which complement the spontaneous process, we must not forget even for a second that culture has never developed and will never develop exclusively through people who are performing this profession. This is an essential part of the settlement of a very broad problem. Culture has always developed and must develop through society; this is characteristic of its nature because of its spontaneity and fervor.

We cannot give the impression for a moment that his act removes the circle problems about which Prof Suchodolski spoke, namely concerning a social movement and that which has not been formalized. We must not give the impression even for a moement that the institution of the dissemination of culture consists only of its director and of money.

Please forgive me the harsh formulation, but only certain outer forms are necessary, the real content of which will be made up by that which is spontaneous, by that which goes into it, by that which is social. Thus I am very much for the acceptance of this legal solution, for it to be presented in the Sejm -- perhaps at the initiative of the Sejm commission with our support in addition, the support of the Central Committee commission -- in such a way that the social aspect is accentuated more clearly, so that this is really [word indistinct] a legal step, not for a social movement, but one that enables that movement to fulfill its role better.

The prime motivating force of culture is the nation organized within the state. I know this is a controversial thesis, but that is why I wish to [word indistinct] it with all force, for it is only after saying this that one can understand where the real dilemma lies in creation in the sphere of art. A nation creates its culture, whereby it exists, continues to exist and through which it comes to possess an identity. It follows from this that creativity in the artistic sphere is a necessary, indispensable but merely small fragment of creativity within culture in general, alongside the creativity that begins above all in work. During our emergence from the crisis we are not allowed to employ an impoverished notion of man. That notion must be a complete one, and if it is full it also comprises the provision by the work enterprise of the elementary necessities regarding the nature of man, his imagination, his emotions, through the cultural sphere. Thus culture is not a supplementary factor, it is not something one can magnanimously decide to bestow or not. Let me state this once again: This is not a call for money that is not there.

I know that at present the most civic of attitudes is that of renunciation, the attitude of pro-productive behavior. This is obviously true. Yet if one forgets man's multi-faceted nature, regardless of the reason why one forgets or why one momentarily has to forget, this can easily lead to ingrained habits that are later very hard to combat.

HUNGARIAN TV INTERVIEWS JERZY URBAN 22 SEP

LD230854 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1935 GMT 22 Sep 83

[Interview with Poland's Jerzy Urban by Andras Domany, during Urban's "recent visit" to Budapest -- recorded]

[Excerpts] [Domany] Is it an easy job representing the Polish Government today?

[Urban in Polish with Hungarian translation superimposed] It is rather difficult because public opinion is hard to please. It is also difficult because anything I say is the government's position. Since the government has no ready position on every question, it is often the case that of saying something that is not a ready government standpoint, but I improvise this standpoint at the given moment. Although this does not concern the basic question, I am still rather afraid of my bosses. It happened only once that I said something that had to be corrected later, because Premier Jaruzelski [words indistinct]

[Domany] This is not a bad balance. I think sometimes one little mistake can be sufficient to make all the positive things said before forgotten.

[Urban] This is true.

[Domany] There are a lot of debates going on these days. In my opinion, these debates are very open. For example, you had a public debate in the press with the editor-in-chief of the Catholic weekly TYGONIK POWSZECHNY. Here is another example: the full text of Lech Walesa's contribution in Gdansk was published in all Polish papers, even in TRYBUNA LUDU.

[Urban] Some comrades were surprised and angry that we give space to Walesa.

[Domany] This is a method, but what are the principles behind it?

[Urban] In my view, this is a good method. By the way, the two examples are two different things. When the government spokesman answers the editor-in-chief of a Catholic weekly, who has criticized some aspects of the government policy, it is an opportunity to have a debate with our internal opponents, opponents of our political line. On the other hand, the fact that we gave space for Walesa does not mean that we are ensuring a forum for him. Frankly speaking, this was useful for us because it made clear that he has nothing to say. [Interview is interrupted with excerpts from Polish television showing the meeting at the Gdansk shipyard where both Rakowski and Walesa spoke few weeks ago]

[Domany] What was the effect of all this on the television viewers?

[Urban] Well, two-thirds of the viewers thought Rakowski was convincing and Walesa was not. Only six percent said that Walesa's argument was more convincing. The rest occupied an in-between position. The effect was therefore approximately 1 to 10, since more than 60 percent found the deputy premier more convincing.

The six percent of the Walesa supporters are people who simply always represent this kind of policy. Hatred is rooted in them. We have no illusions about the possibility of convincing them. On 31 August the enemy on the streets was a reality. It could repeatedly be seen how few they are. Although only 10-13,000 people went on the streets in the whole country, they had stones in their hands.

[Domany] There was another interesting event: the Katowice meetings of the representatives of the new unions.

[Urban] Yes. A lot of things were criticized by the new unions, and they really made the government sweat. They not only related a series of difficult cases, but they also put forth their demands. Part of the conflict comes from the fact that the economic situation is still rather difficult. It is difficult to raise wages, and unions, of course, want this. The same applies to widening social benefits and many other things. This is the most dramatic area of the debates, because at the moment there is no solution to this. However, there were many complaints that make us, the government, rather anxious. These point to the phenomenon that many enterprise directors are arrogant again. They do not care about the workers. These old diseases are reappearing in a revolting way. The same directors who were helpless in the 1980-1981 period -- then they were unable to direct, to put their economy in order, and were frightened because attacks were made against them -- now are aware of their positions too well. Maybe this is a psychological law to a certain degree. They breathe freely again when the enemy disappears from their sight and they continue to direct in the old fashion. For example, they think they can distribute all the bonuses among a few leaders because, in their view, they make the most of the interest of production. This is the most banal example, but in Katowice trade union leaders mentioned a number of incidents characteristic in their factories.

[Domany] I think in all these questions, even the economic ones, a basically psychological concept plays an important role: trust.

[Urban] Trust is increasing. The last week of August proves this, for example. The underground political movement, the underground organization connected with Solidarity -- we have such a thing; it is a hostile conspiratorial group -- called for a 1-week so-called Italian strike; they called for slowing down production. If this were successful, Poland would have almost no production for a week. We were closely following production results during this week and there was no decrease whatsoever. There was no sign of following the call even in one factory or in a small cooperative. The failure was total.

[Domany] In the days following the Gdansk meeting, according to Western press, Walesa said that the strategy of the opposition should be reconsidered. The fight ceases to be underground and they will not use the word Solidarity any more. According to other reports, Walesa did not say this. Whatever the truth is, the opposition has failed.

VERDET, CONSTANTIN MEET PALESTINIAN TU DELEGATION

AU261410 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1311 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26/9/1983 -- On Monday, Ilie Verdet, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP and Nicolae Constantin, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Central Committee of the General Trade Unions Confederation of Romania (GTUCR), met with the delegation of the Palestinian Trade Union Federation, led by Fathi ar-Raghib, secretary-general of the federation, who are paying a visit of friendship to Romania.

During the interview, opinions were exchanged on the activity and preoccupations of the trade unions in Romania and of the Palestinian trade union federation and the wish was expressed to further develop and deepen the good relations between the two trade unions, in the interests of the Romanian and Palestinian peoples, of the cause of world peace and security, of international cooperation and collaboration. Aspects were also approached of the international situation, especially developments in the Middle East. The interview passed in a comradely, friendly atmosphere.

Solidarity Reaffirmed

AU261929 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1837 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26/9/1983 -- Talks were held in Bucharest between a delegation of the GTUCR [General Union of Romanian Trade Unions] Central Council headed by Nicolae Constantin, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the GTUCR Central Council, and a delegation of the Palestinian Trade Union Confederation, who paid a visit of friendship to Romania.

The interview occasioned a wide exchange of information and opinions on the activity and preoccupations of the trade unions in Romania and of the Palestinian Trade Union Confederation, as also on certain problems of the international life.

Showing satisfaction at the positive evolution of the ties of friendship and collaboration between the two trade union organizations, the sides expressed the mutual wish to further develop their collaboration.

The sides brought to the fore the decisive contribution made to strengthening and expanding the ties of friendship and solidarity between the Romanian and Palestinian trade unions and working people, between the Romanian people and the Palestinian people, by the talks between the leader of the RCP and Romanian state, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the leader of the PLO Executive Committee, Yasir 'Arafat.

Fathi ar-Raghib highlighted the high appreciation and gratitude the Palestinian working people nurture for the solidarity and multilateral consistent support given by Socialist Romania, by the Romanian people to the cause of the Palestinian people, for the initiatives and untiring activity President Nicolae Ceausescu devotes to a political global settlement of the problems in the Middle East, to a just and lasting peace in the zone, to the materialization of the national aspirations of the Palestinian Arab people.

Expressed was the solidarity of the Romanian trade unions and working people in Romania with the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

Both sides highlighted the need for a stronger unity of action within the international trade-union movement and for its more active participation, by the side of all the democratic and progressive forces throughout the world, in the struggle for halting the arms race, for the assertion and promotion of the policy of peace, detente and international collaboration.

The talks passed in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

PREMIER DASCALESCU MEETS FRG YOUTH DELEGATION

AU261006 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Sep 83 p 5

[Text] Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on 23 September received the head of the delegation of the FRG Youth Council which is currently attending a friendly meeting with Romanian youth representatives.

During the ensuing talk, the two sides stressed the positive relations of cooperation between the two countries which are constantly developing on the basis of summit understandings. They emphasized the role devolving upon the young generation in Europe and throughout the world in the struggle to resume the trend toward detente, to preserve and strengthen peace, to achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and to establish a better and more just world.

Peter Bensch, FRG charge d'affaires ad interim in Bucharest, was also present at the meeting.

KIM IL-SONG RECEIVES EDUCATION MINISTER TEOREANU

AU262107 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Pyongyang AGERPRES 26/9/1983 -- An exchange of messages of fraternal friendship and solidarity between RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, and Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, president of the DPR of Korea, was occasioned by the call paid on the Korean leader, on September 26, by Ion Teoreanu, minister of education and instruction, Romanian chief delegate at the conference of ministers of education and culture of non-aligned countries and other developing states, proceeding in Pyongyang now.

PEACE CAMPAIGN PUBLICIZED IN NEWSPAPERS

AU261134 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA and ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian from 22 through 25 September, and LUMEA No 39 on 22 September carry reports on peace actions and meetings throughout Romanian towns, ranging from 2,000 to 5,000 words, totalling about 28,000 words, and supported by pictures of such events. The items stress that the aim of all these big mass actions "are designed to make known the Romanian people's unshakable desire for peace," and that they are taking place "at a moment of particular tension when new medium-range missiles are to be deployed in Europe which has turned into an immense arsenal of nuclear weapons." The items also stress that these actions demonstrate the Romanian people's "unanimous support for the appeal launched by the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front for disarmament and peace -- the fervent aspiration and firm desire of the Romanian people."

REPORTS ON REAGAN'S U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY SPEECH

Zagreb 26 Sep

LD262008 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Goran Milic Report from New York]

[Text] Counting on the extensive publicity given to speeches delivered to the General Assembly, the U.S. President set out his understanding of international relations and of the work of the UN. There was a strong desire in his speech to divide the world into two sides: one moral, peaceloving, and honest and the other dangerous and irresponsible. Of course, the USSR was placed in the latter side, although on this occasion President Reagan did not use the strongest vocabulary to criticize the other superpower.

The downing of the South Korean airliner was mentioned by Reagan on three occasions: Once directly and twice indirectly. President Reagan set out a proposal to reduce nuclear weapons, a proposal which goes well beyond the zero option. The ceiling of nuclear warheads would be raised to a higher level than proposed by the Americans so far. In practical terms this means that the Soviets should reduce a number of their Euromissiles while the Americans would commit themselves not to install all the planned Pershings and cruise missiles. Through PRAVDA 2 days ago, Moscow rejected Reagan's proposal submitted to the Soviets last week at the Geneva talks. The Soviet delegation left one seat empty -- the one occupied every autumn during the past 26 years by Minister Andrey Gromyko.

Reagan's thoughts on the UN's role, to which the second half of the U.S. President's speech was devoted, are less clear. Reagan began by wishing that the world organization could be genuinely nonaligned, but he then immediately made a division in the organiaation among the truly nonaligned and those countries that are Soviet clients. The U.S. President spoke nostalgically of the time when the UN came into being, when there were only 50 member-countries, indirectly indicating that today it is more difficult to attain planned objectives when the number of member-countries has risen to 158.

This afternoon, late in the evening Yugoslav time, representatives of all nonaligned countries will gather here at a meeting to be chaired by Indian Prime Minister Indira Ghandi. It is expected that the head of the Yugoslav delegation, President of the Yugoslav Presidency Mika Spiljak, who is due in New York in one hour's time aboard a regular JAT flight, will attend this meeting of nonaligned countries. Mika Spiljak is due to speak at the General Assembly the day after tomorrow, the same morning that Indira Gandhi and French President Francois Mitterrand are scheduled to speak.

TANJUG 26 Sep

LD262058 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1947 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] United Nations, Sept 26 (TANJUG) -- In his address to the 38th U.N. General Assemby session today, Monday, U.S. President Ronald Reagan put forth three new elements for disarmament negotiations with the Soviet Union.

First, the United States still insists that both sides accept the same worldwide ceiling on their intermediate range arsenals, while the United States, under the new proposal, retains the right to deploy them elsewhere outside European territory. According to Reagan, the U.S. will thus not offset the entire Soviet global missile deployment.

Second, the U.S. is prepared to be more flexible in its stance in Geneva negotiations, including the Soviet desire that an agreement should encompass nuclear armament carrier aircraft as well as missiles. In this context, Reagan invited the Soviet Union to show greater flexibility in Geneva negotiations.

Third, concerning agreement on a substantial cut in the existing Soviet missiles and the level of deployment of missiles planned by NATO in Europe, the U.S. is ready to decrease the number of ground-launched Pershing-2 and cruise missiles.

Reagan emphasized he made this initiative after consultations with the allies and other friendly countries. He also said the U.S. was working on the reduction of nuclear arsenals and added he still believed that the best solution was the elimination of all long-range missiles, but this was regrettably rejected by the USSR.

Reagan started his address, it should be added, with a demand for rebuilding confidence in the U.N. ideals. Referring one after the other to fierce conflicts world-wide in the past year's time, the U.S. President turned in detail to the problem of disarmament control which, in his opinion, requires overcoming narrow national interests. This is the U.N.'s cornerstone to which we must return, Reagan said.

The setting up of blocs and polarization within the U.N. have undermined everything that the world organization esteemed utmost before, the U.S. President said. The Nonaligned Movement was founded as a counter to the development of blocs, he pointed out, remarking that this movement's membership has grown very quickly in number.

President Reagan's speech started, in fact, a general debate in the General Assembly. A Soviet address was scheduled for next Tuesday.

REACTION TO REAGAN'S 'SHARP ATTACK' VIEWED

LD262226 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1840 GMT 26 Sep 83

["Pool" item]

[Text] United Nations, Sept 26 (PTI) -- The U.S. President Ronald Reagan today used the U.N. forum to deliver a sharp attack on the Nonaligned Movement, saying that the "client government" of the Soviet Union had "flocked into" it.

In a major address to the 38th session of the General Assembly the U.S. President said "pseudo nonalignment is no better than pseudo arms control."

Mr Reagan said that the Soviet Union's client governments, who have long since lost their independence, have flocked into Nonaligned Movement, and once inside have worked against its true purpose."

The U.S. President's broadside, which surprised and angered many nonaligned diplomats, came on the eve of a summit meeting of world leaders here at the initiative of Nonaligned Movement. He is not attending these sessions but is scheduled to meet Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi before returning to Washington.

President Reagan said that the Nonaligned Movement was founded to counter the development of blocks and to promote detente between them. Its founders had spoken of the right of smaller countries not to become involved in others' disagreements. "Since then, membership in the Nonaligned Movement has grown dramatically, but not all the new members have shared the founders' commitment to genuine nonalignment", he said.

SPILJAK, MOJSOV TO ATTEND 38TH UNGA SESSION

Mojsov in NYC; Spiljak Departs

LD261326 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1033 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG) -- Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, left for New York this morning to attend the 38th anniversary of the UN General Assembly, where he will head the Yugoslav delegation.

The president of the SFRY Presidency will take part in the work of this year's session of the UN General Assembly on the basis of the joint decision adopted at the Seventh Summit of Nonaligned Countries in New Delhi.

Lazar Mofsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs, has already arrived in New York to take part in the work of the UN General Assembly.

The president of the SFRY Presidency was seen off at Belgrade Airport in Surcin by Petar Stambolic, member of the SFRY Presidency; Mirko Popovic, vice president of the SFRY Assembly; Stane Dolanc, federal secretary for internal affairs; Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense; Boro Denkov; member of the Federal Executive Council; and Jelko Blazevic, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs; and other personages.

Spiljak Arrives in New York

LD270936 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0310 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] United Nations, 26 Sep (TANJUG) -- Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, arrived in New York last night where he will attend the 38th session of the UN General Assembly at which a general debate has just begun. President Spiljak was welcomed by Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary of foreign affairs; Ignac Golob, SFRY permanent representative in the UN; and Budimir Loncar, SFRY ambassador to the United States.

ADMIRAL MAMULA RECEIVES USSR ADMIRAL YEGOROV

LD261659 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG) -- Today Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, received in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense Admiral of the Fleet Georgiy Yegorov, chairman of the Soviet Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation and Navy[DOSAAF], who is visiting Yugoslavia as the guest of the Presidium of the Popular Technology Organization of Yugoslavia.

In the course of a cordial and friendly conversation opinions were exchanged on the problems and importance of training young people for the needs of the country's defence in voluntary social organizations.

Nikolay Rodionov, USSR ambassador in Yugoslavia, was present at the reception and talks on the Soviet side; and Lieutenant Colonel General Mile Arnautovski, president of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Popular Technology Organization, and Blazo Mandic, member of the Presidium, were present on the Yugoslav side.

SWAPO'S NUJOMA ARRIVES IN BELGRADE 25 SEP

Welcomed at Airport

LD260050 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 25 Sep 83

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 25 Sep (TANJUG) -- Sam Nujoma, president of SWAPO[South-West African People's Organization], arrived in Belgrade tonight at the invitation of the SAWPY Federal Conference. At Belgrade Airport the SWAPO leader was welcomed by Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, a member of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance; and also by the ambassadors of African countries accredited in Belgrade.

Holds Press Conference

LD261523 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1238 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG) -- "We are paying a visit to Yugoslavia, a country which extends us full material, political and diplomatic support, at a very critical stage of our struggle." Sam Nujoma, chairman of SWAPO, stated at a press conference in the International Press Center in Belgrade today.

The leader of SWAPO, who is in Yugoslavia on a 3-day visit at the invitation of the SAWPY Federal Conference, told Yugoslav and foreign correspondents that a "fresh escalation of violence and attrocities committed by the racist regime of South Africa is in evidence in Namibia at the moment."

We repeat on this occasion again that the question of Namibia is exclusively within the sphere of competence of the UN Security Council and that the only way to the definite decolonization of Namibia, over which there can be no bargaining, is the implementation of the UN resolution 435. We are fighting for self-determination; we will not consider Bandustanization nor the transformation of Namibia into a satellite of Pieter Botha, Nujoma said.

Nujoma rejected any conditions for Namibian independence. In this connection he reiterated SWAPO's attitude that the initiative of individual contact group countries on the withdrawal of Cuban troop from Angola as a prerequisite for the acceptance of Resolution 435 was unacceptable. "The United States and those who share its views, those who are proposing this, know where Cuba is and where Angola is. Let them address themselves to the right place and not to us. Angola is a sovereign country, which has every right to help from friends if it judges that it is threatened," Nujoma stated.

Asked by correspondents whether the presence of the foreign factor, which has been invited to not only Angola but also to Chad and the Near East, created an atmosphere unfavorable to the further progress of the talks on Namibia, Nujoma replied that the "imperialist forces in Chad and the Near East were trying to achieve the aims of multinational capital.

According to the SWAPO leader, the regime of Pieter Botha in the Republic of South Africa is merely a "gendarme in the service of several Western countries' multinational capital which is exploiting Namibia." In this sense, as Nujoma put it, "the maneuvers over the implementation of Resolution 435 are an attempt by these countries to gain time in the defense of their interests."

The SWAPO leader said that there were no grounds for doubts about the safety of the white minority in Namibia when the country finally wins independence.

We are fighting for the great ideas whose essence are justice and euality and they are a guarantee to all regardless of color, Sam Nujoma said.

However hard our struggle proves, we shall carry on and bring it to a successful conclusion, he said, adding that among other things today SWAPO also had to face an alliance between Zionism and apartheid. According to the SWAPO leader, this alliance not only strengthens the positions of Botha's regime with arms, but along with the favor bestowed upon it by the United States, it also is provided with nuclear technology and,thus, has the opportunity to intimidate Africa with nuclear bombs.

In conclusion, Nujoma said that the people of Namibia, who continue to fight with arms and also barehandedly, were not losing faith in further UN initiatives, among which he placed particular stress on the importance of the role played by nonaligned Yugoslavia as a member of the Council of Namibia.

FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL DISCUSSES PRICE POLICY

LD240430 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1707 GMT 23 Sep 83

[Excerpt] Belgrade 23 Sep (TANJUG) -- Today, the Federal Executive Council, presided over by Zvone Dragan, determined the stances concerning the implementation of the policy of prices in 1983. It was stated that the movement of prices and inflation continued to represent one of the most complex questions of the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization. The council expressed its concern about the price increases, especially in the past 2 months, and pointed out that this already had negative consequences for the standard of living of the working people and citizens, especially those with low incomes. It was assessed that the price rises reflected deep disruption in the social reproduction and administrative decisions on prices over many years in the past.

The Federal Executive Council considers that the implementation of the agreed price policy has been inadequate. The social control of prices is often taken to mean any form of administrative regulation of prices, instead of economic measures compelling economic subjects to behave in accordance with the market. In the absence of such measures, the redistribution of income is carried out in an administrative manner.

The council considers that direct social control of prices is envisaged in our system as an exception which has lately become a rule, regardless of whether it is a question of decisions by the Federal Executive Council, the executive councils of the republics and provinces, or the communities for prices.

In these circumstances, the economy is increasingly turning to various state and other institutions to solve its difficulties and does not wage the battle for greater production and income on the market. The council considers that part of the inflation is also due to the fact that the prices are determined in an administrative manner. This is why the decision on the ceiling of prices has produced only limited results.

The Federal Executive Council emphasizes that the decision to abolish the ceiling of prices has not been received at all levels in a sufficiently prepared manner, which is also shown by the behavior of some subjects. There is plenty of time to undertake measures for responsible and consistent implementation of the policy of prices in 1983. Quite a number of economic subjects and others have not consistently carried out the July decisions of the Federal Executive Council in the field of prices.

The first experience shows that not all the provisions, envisaged by the regulations, are being consistently observed, especially when they concern self-management agreements. social agreements, or the level of prices.

The existing regulations and the practices of the republics and provinces are not harmonious. Some communities for prices do not even observe the 30-day provision about the submission of price lists for the purpose of study. All this when coupled with expressly unfavorable conditions for the implementation of the agreed price policy -- due to disrupted relationship between the supply and demand and other reasons -- brought about an uncontrolled increase in the prices in August this year.

The high price increases were due not only to economic and other conditions but also to the inadequate behavior by the individual makers of decisions on prices. This is above all reflected in the submission of demands for price adjustments because they were mainly well beyond the economically justified increases, as well as in the support for such unrealistic demands by competent organs and institutions.

Such behavior in the most sensitive area of the economic policy essentially differs from the tasks and aims determined by the price policy and has negative consequences for the entire economic trends. The Federal Executive Council considers that this too shows that the commitments embodied in the document on the long-term program of economic stabilization are being accepted in a rather declarative manner.

After the abolition of the decision on the ceiling of prices, the Federal Market Inspectorate, in cooperation with the inspectorates in the republics and provinces, found that prices were illegally increased and that goods were kept back in the expectation of higher prices. Checks were made in over 30 places in the country and its was found that the prices of controlled articles increased between 27 July and 15 August this year alone by between 10 and 200 percent. Most of these increases were formally covered by authorized price lists issued by the communities for prices. The time-limit for products whose prices were studied was cut.

Most suppliers have indicated to the trade new prices increases stating that these increases have already been legally approved. It has also been established that individual republican and provincial communities for prices approved the price lists in June for the new prices to become effective upon the expiry of the decision on the ceiling of prices although the decision of the Federal Executive Council in this respect was still valid.

The Federal Executive Council, however, also points out that the material position of the economy substantially affects the price trends. The organizations of associated labor often try to make up for the high contributions from income outside the economy by increasing their prices. At the same time, sharp economic measures were taken this year which the organizations of associated labor with low accumulative funds were unable to sustain and shift this burden over to the prices. This is undoubtedly one of the main reasons for the high inflationary pressure. It is therefore necessary to undertake all measures to reduce the rate of inflation, above all by dealing with the basic reasons for price increases. The competent communities for prices should re-examine all price adjustments after the abolition of the decision on the ceiling of prices. In every organization of associated labor, the administrative organs should reexamine the price policy and the decisions on price increases.

The Federal Executive Council considers that the regimes and measures of the social control of prices should be energetically and consistently carried out until the end of the year, that there should be full activity to change the law on the system of prices and on the social control of prices so in order to apply the economic criteria to price increases and to ensure greater effect of the economic laws and the role of the associated labor in the price decisions.

The Council considered and adopted the common bases for special measures which should be adopted to protect the standard of living of certain categories of the population.

The Federal Executive Council considers that this document represents a good basis for wider action at all levels as regards the taking of measures which will protect the standard of living of certain categories of the population due to high inflation and increased cost of living.

The Federal Executive Council, on the basis of agreement with the republics and provinces, prolonged the validity of the provision on the restricted sale of petrol and diesel oil. The sale of petrol and diesel oil remains the same and so do the quantities which can be purchased by the citizens, tradesmen, individual agricultural producers and others.

TANJUG REPORTS ON SPILJAK'S VISIT TO PAZIN

Addresses People's Rally

LD251332 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0606 GMT 25 Sep 83

[Text] Pazin 25 Sep (TANJUG) -- After greeting the citizens of freedom-loving Pazin and the people of Istra, the Slovene Coast, Rijeka, Zadar, Cres, Losinj Lastovo, and other islands, who had gathered for the major people's rally, President of the SFRY Presidency Mika Spiljak recalled that on this day 40 years ago, Istria was united with the motherland. This was the end of the slavery under the foreign yoke and fascist terror, which had lasted for more than 2 decades. The invalidity of the occupation act, by which the quisling Ante Pavelic voluntarily ceded to Italy parts of Gorski Kotar, was confirmed. During that period, the peoples of this area -- the Croatians, Slovenes, and Italian antifascists -- were exposed to the crudest terror and harassment.

Realizing that the national liberation struggle by the Yugoslav nations against the foreign conquerors was also a guarantee of the final unification of the territories torn from Yugoslavia, Spiljak went on to say that the Croatians, Slovenes, and Italian antifascists joined in large numbers the national liberation movement and its armed units. In these areas, the movement relied on the powerful and widespread patriotic and antifascist mood of the mass of the Croatian and Slovene population, and the antifascist sentiments of the Italian population. The attraction of the antifascist struggle on Yugoslav soil is confirmed by the fact that after the capitulation of Italy, about 40,000 Italians joined units of the National Liberation Army. Thus in Montenegro, the Garibaldi Division was formed, and in the area of Trzic, the Garibaldi Brigade. These Italian antifascists bravely fought against the German occupier and its servants until the final victory over fascism.

Emphasizing that the freedom of these areas did not come automatically, Mika Spiljak recalled that the international agreements in Paris in 1947 and in London in 1954 determined the borders between Yugoslavia and Italy. By the Osima Agreement in the 1970's, he added, outstanding important issues between our two countries were resolved, including the final determination of common state borders. Thus, the region that for decades had been the subject of disputes and agreements between the great powers became, through the wisdom and realistic policy of both states, a bridge for rapprochement and friendship between Yugoslavia and Italy. In European and world history, this is an example of how by respecting and applying the principles of the United Nations Charter and by understanding the importance of good-neighborly and friendly cooperation, major problems in relations between countries can be solved regardless of their social systems. An important contribution to friendly, good-neighborly relations between our two countries is made by members of the Italian minority in our country and the Slovene and Croatian national minorities in Italy. This is all the more reason for the condemnation of the occasional barbaric behavior of the fascists in Trieste and some other neighboring areas.

Going on to speak about the present economic conditions in the country, President Spiljak said that our country, as all other developing countries, is relying on its own resources but is also receiving foreign credits. However, Spiljak added, we did not realize the complexity of the world economic situation, which because of the enormous increase in interest rates, made it difficult to repay our debts. For this reason, and because of certain mistakes in investment, we are today facing serious difficulties in repaying out debts and as a result of this, after many years, we are also facing various shortages. These are not the first, nor will they be the last difficulties that we will overcome. They are primarily the result of rapid development and not stagnation.

Emphasizing that the long-term program of economic stabilization will enable us to remove the difficulties that have arisen, Spiljak added that this must be achieved through self-management and not administrative measures. Only working people can realize it, but first they must become well-acquainted with it. However, so far there has been more discussion about it than action taken to make it applicable.

The concern and anxiety of our people is understandable when they encounter phenomena and actions that are contrary to our social norms and morals, said Spiljak. Complaints and great sensitivity over injustices and easy money-making without work are understandable, particularly when these funds are not subject to taxes. The dissatisfaction because of irresponsibility and the failure to carry out agreed programs and policies through inconsistency and tardiness is also justified. Working people are openly and rightfully protesting all these phenomena, and this should be seriously taken into consideration.

However, despite all the difficulties and shortages of certain products, there is no reason for faintheartedness and doubt because the situation is not insurmountable, stressed Spiljak. We have all that we need to overcome these problems: the motives, the material base, and a qualified working class and specialist cadre, which could surmount greater difficulties than these. However, there are also pessimists who have been frightened by the difficulties. They are very vociferous today, and are actually most often concerned that the privileges they have unjustifiably acquired are threatened. The workers, who are surely experiencing the greatest difficulties and are hardest hit by this situation, are least prone to panic and faintheartedness, but are justifiably seeking that the burden of stabilization should be equally distributed. Spiljak then cited the example of pessimists this year in the public information media writing off agriculture in advance. The rich yields refuted their claims in the best possible way. It was the same case with tourism, industrial production, and exports. The pessimists proclaimed all this as being unsuccessful in advance, but fortunately everything is much better than they anticipated.

This tells us, President Spiljak said, that we must have a far more responsible attitude toward our difficulties and be more decisive in supporting the programs and efforts of working people that lead to a way out of the situation. We should talk and write more about these efforts and results because there are indeed many of them. Positive examples and experiences are always useful and stimulating. With the same decisiveness, we should point out weaknesses and omissions, idleness, and lack of responsibility -- of which there is also a lot -- but not only this.

Mika Spiljak then noted that demands for the introduction of order are also to be heard because of the numerous weaknesses and omissions in economic activity. We must indeed devote ourselves to introducing more order, but of a self-managing and not administrative nature, he added. Workers are not criticizing self-management. On the contrary, they are demanding its further development and the guarantee of greater effectiveness of the institutions of the self-management system, and that associated labor should really determine the results of its labour. The difficulties that we presently have in economic activity originated because of holdups in the development of self-management.

All this demands the development, supplementation, and correction of the various decisions that have not proved themselves in practice. This is the best answer to attempts at proclaiming non-self-management behavior as weaknesses of self-management.

According to President Spiljak, in recent times there has been much disatisfaction, and not without reason, with price rises. It is certain that in the future, too, there will have to be price adjustments because there are great differences in the preconditions of economic activity and the positions of certain groups of producers. He added, however, that what has been happening recently regarding prices is in many cases impermissible. Immediately after the unfreezing of prices, many had been hurriedly increased, often without real justification. This was a very crude attempt to load problems and weaknesses onto someone else by means of price increases. Such irresponsible behavior in some work organizations simply fuels inflation and directly threatens the stabilization efforts of society.

Mike Spiljak then told the participants of the people's rally that in order to implement the program of stabilization, stable and stimulative conditions of economic activity must be created both for the work organization and for the individual. All this is envisaged in the stabilization program but must also be incorporated into the mechanisms that determine the conditions of economic activity and into the regulations on distribution according to labor. Until now, too little attention in these regulations and self-anagement agreements has been devoted to the criteria and measures for stimulating each individual and groups of workers. Criteria of qualifications and the work place tend to dominate, said Spiljak, regardless of the individual's application and how much he contributes at his place of work. A certain incentive exists for workers in production through the system of norms, but even this is not full stimulation. For the organizers of production and community services, there is often no direct stimulation. There are the greatest reserves for rationalizing production in its organization. It is also necessary to give firm support to innovators and rationalizers, who still do not have enough of this kind of support.

Concluding this part of his speech, Spiljak particularly emphasized that stimulation of work and creativity is an exceptionally important and almost crucial factor in the struggle for stabilization. Without interest in better work and greater application, there will not be a real increase in production and income. Without increased income, there can be no real solution to current problems, no rise in the standard of living or more rapid employment of trainee workers.

President Spiljak also turned to the international political situation, stressing that only reason can overcome madness. He said that all countries -- particularly the great powers, which have the greatest responsibility for the continued worsening of international relations -- should show patience and make maximum efforts toward calming the situation and reducing tension. Yugoslavia, as a socialist and nonaligned country, is engaged in the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence; for the preservation of the independence, sovereignty, and security of nations and states; and for the building of equitable international relations. This is why we attach the greatest importance to the United Nations and its efforts and activities for the well-being of all nations.

In this troubled world, full of contradictions and dangers, we can only preserve our freedom and independence and guarantee the security of our path into the future by being united. We are jointly taking on important tasks and great responsibility for the future course of our revolution and for all the values of the socialist self-managing society we are building, said President of the SFRY Presidency Mike Spiljak, in conclusion.

Attends Committee Meetings

LD251502 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1120 GMT 25 Sep 83

[Excerpts] Pasin, 25 Sep (TANJUG) -- A charter for the union of freedom, brotherhood, unity, and Yugoslav socialist self-managing fellowship, intended for the SFRY Presidency, was presented in Pazin today to Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, at a formal session of the republican, regional, and municipal committees for marking the jubilees of the socialist revolution and national liberation struggle, which was presided over by Milan Rukavina-Sain, president of the Croatian Assembly.

Present at today's formal session of the committee, among the numerous guests, were Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency; Dusan Dragosavac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Jakov Blazevic, LCY Central Committee member and honorary citizen of Pazin; Milutin Baltic, president of the Croatian Presidency; Josip Vrhovec, president of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium; Jovan Dejanovic, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference; Mirko Popovic, vice president of the SFRY Assembly; and Vinko Hafner, president of the Slovene Assembly. The participants at the session sent a telegram of greetings to the SFRY Presidency, the LCY Central Committee, and the presidiums of the Croatian and Slovene LC Central Committee.

GRLICKOV INTERVIEW ON PROBLEMS OF MINORITIES

LD241839 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1325 GMT 24 Sep 83

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 Sep (TANJUG) -- In today's edition Ljubljana DNEVNIK has published a lengthy interview with Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium. The greater part of the interview is devoted to the problem of national minorities in general, and particularly that of minorities of Yugoslav nations.

Replying to a question about the position of Macedonians in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Aleksandar Grlickov said: "After the end of World War II, during the time of Georgi Dimitrov, the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] first officially recognized the existence of the Macedonian nation, then opened up the process of recognition of the minority rights of Macedonians in Pirin Macedonia (education in the mother tongue, and so forth), and then announced the possibility of uniting that part of Macedonia with the already created independent Macedonian state within the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia [FPRY] by forming a federation between the FPRY and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This was also the subject of an agreement in Bled between Tito and Dimitrov. The BCP did not change its stand on the recognition of the existence of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria after the death of Dimitrov, but for a certain time adhered to the standpoints of his period, even though after the 1948 Cominform resolution it expelled Macedonian teachers from Pirin Macedonia and terminated instruction in the Macedonian language. However, after this the opposite process was gradually started -- that of abandoning the stands it had itself taken during Dimitrov's time, and then toward the end of the sixties, with the publication of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and officially on the part of the Bulgarian state and BCP, the process ensued of returning to the old views on the nonexistence of the Macedonian nation, and hence also of the Macdeonian minority in Bulgaria, the bourgeois historiography on the national question being accepted as the argument for this thesis, for adopting the events and personalities in the history of the Macedonian nationa and everything else, which I believe is well-known.

As you see, it is a question of a major about-face whose political aims are not hard to identify.

Although they have to recognize the historical reality of the creation of an independent Macedonian national state, which voluntarily entered into a federation with the other nations of Yugoslavia, by negating the historical existence of the Macedonian nation and its history, they wish at least to legitimize the forced assimilation of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria, and perhaps even something else as well in certain unforeseen historical circumstances."

Aleksandar Grlickov emphasized that the Macedonian nation has accepted the historical reality despite the pain and tragedy of the division, and is waging the struggle for recognition of the rights of the minority in Bulgaria and Greece in various ways, while the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, by developing good-neighborly relations, is attempting to guarantee the recognition of the rights of the parts of its nation in those countries. "We Macedonians cannot renounce this policy of ours or our historical goals in the name of any aspirations, since we count on our own potential, the potential of the federation, the potential of the other nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, Bulgaria still refuses to recognize both the Macedonian minority and its minority rights. Taking as a starting point the given realities and the international agreements in Helsinki on the immutability of borders, and sincerely maintaining this stand, we have pledged ourselves to gain recognition of minority rights and are of course making great efforts to convince the ruling circles of our neighboring countries that the solution lies in making minorities, by means of these rights, a link for deepening our mutual good-neighborly relations. It is the great historical responsibility of political forces to adopt this policy and to make the Balkan Peninsula an area of peace, and not a "powder keg", in which, by opening borders and developing comprehensive cooperation, the minorities too will lay the foundation for the all-round nature of these relations," Aleksandar Grlickov said in the interview for the Ljubljana DNEVNIK.

Speaking of the Greek socialist government's attitude toward the Macedonians, Grlickov said that the current socialist-oriented Panhellenic Socialist Movement Government has not, in essence, radically changed anything in the solution of the question of the Macedonian national minority in Greece, nor has it tackled definite positive processes in its solution. "Most probably what is involved is to prove a positive national program," Grlickov stressed, "And the fact that both rightwing and leftwing parties have found themselves with the same stand with regard to the question of this minority is both contradictory and sad."

"The paradox regarding these stands and legal acts by the current Greek Government is in the fact that they are involved in the nonrecognition of the Macedonian minority, of the Macedonian nation and of the state of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, which can be inferred on the basis of the regulations banning studies at Skopje University, and others." The stands of Greek Communists during the past period also underwent changes, ranging from recognizing and supporting the Macedonian national minority to neutrality and possibly even as far as nonrecognition.

"Our conviction, strategy, and hope proceed from the assumption that with this kind of demand we do not present a threat to anyone's sovereignty," Aleksandar Grlickov said. "However, we are striving to ensure the rights of the Macedonian minority in Greece and the right for the SFRY and for the Socialist Republic of Macedonia as a state of the Macedonian nation and of the nationalities in it to be interested in the destinies of that part of its nation."

Referring to the problems of the Slovene minority in Austria, Aleksandar Grlickov said that the stipulations of the state treaty are being carried out with difficulty while in practice a duality is shown which, in essence, tends to curtail the rights of the Slovene minority and to encourage the process of assimilation on the basis of objective and subjective conditions and interest.

As regards a global protection of Slovenes in Italy, Aleksandar Grlickov stressed that this struggle is necessary. Specific positive results attained in the life of the Slovene national community in Italy only prove this fact, although the potential for pressure from nationalist political forces of fascist or some other ideological origin is always present.

In connection with border cooperation within the framework of strengthening the economic foundations of the minority, Aleksandar Grlickov believes that anything stemming from our international border trade agreements is not a privilege if some of our restrictive measures -- prescribed by necessity -- in our communications with our neighbors do not encompass the inhabitants of the border areas covered by these agreements. What is involved there is not only our attitude toward an interstate agreement but also our direct political interest, preservation, and enhancement of cooperation and of all forms of communication with our minority.

Speaking about the minorities in our country, Aleksandar Grlickov stressed that great progress is evident in forming the awareness about the minorities, their rights and equality in Yugoslavia. A great deal has also been done concerning shaping awareness of the importance of the struggle for the rights of our national minorities. However, the intensity of this awareness is still not at a satisfactory level. "If I wish to avoid using stronger language I must say that despite the historic steps made in this area, inadequate tolerance is still the characteristic which is exploited and which can be used in specific internal and international relations by various antisocialist, anti-self-management, and conservative forces of diverse ideological origins.

"Before the progressive socialist forces, and especially before us Communists, there stands the historic responsibility to resolve these problems more successfully and possibly more intensively and to shape our social awareness of our mutual differences and tolerance because our future is at stake," Aleksandar Grlickov said.

BORBA CONDEMNS POLITICAL ACTS OF BACKA CLERGY

AU251536 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10-11 Sep 83 p 13

[Slobodan Stanojevic article "Religious Games About the Wheat"]

[Excerpts] There is no dilemma: one of the "hot" topics which is talked about and discussed in Subotica these days is the unacceptable behavior of certain clergymen from Catholic Church circles, who are trying to impose themselves as "national protectors" of Croatians and Hungarians from this region. Although what is involved is the "flock" that is "under the wing" of the same church, attempts to divide the believers on a national basis are becoming more and more obvious. Thus the "one God," as interpreted by these clergymen follows two national policies.

Typical of these divisions are two manifestations which were held this summer under the auspices of the clergymen of Backa Diocese which, by the way, also has a "special position" within the Catholic Church: it has direct connections with the Vatican. Firstly, this involved the "Days of Bread and Word" demonstration in Subotica at which members of Croatian nationality gathered and, secondly, the camping of several hundred "young believers" of Hungarian nationality in Backa Topola. Both manifestations, which are traditional, developed into an obvious mixing of "religion and politics" with the church wishing to appear as a reliable national protector. Thus, for instance, literary works of those writers who have already shown themselves to be nationalists or clerico-nationalists in this town and beyond,were presented at the gathering held in Subotica.

On the other hand, some clergymen of Hungarian nationality tried to preach to the young people who were camping and enjoying recreation in Backa Topola under very favorable material conditions, about "the similarities between and difficulties of our and your generation," with the obvious wish to indoctrinate the young, with the help of religion, with ideas which have an unacceptable "smell."

These two gatherings obviously show that some clergymen under the wing of the Catholic Church have taken up the inadmissible activity of dividing believers of the same religion on the basis of their nationality.

Another event that attracts considerable attention in these "religious games" in northern Backa is the attempt to misuse the traditional harvest festival for aims which are definitely not, and cannot be, acceptable. A number of clergymen of Backa Diocese have obviously become entangled in affairs which are not of a religious nature and through which they wish to try to create those "new times" in which they will be the "national protectors."

They want to sell their politics along with religion. It is quite understandable that Subotica working people energetically oppose them in this, because they do not want masses and feats which divide them. If life has brought them to live together, and they accept it, then the church has no right to disturb them and offer them some other concept of living which is completely alien to them.

## BRIEFS

TITO MONOGRAPH PRESENTED -- Brioni Islands, Sept. 26 (TANJUG) -- On the occasion of opening the international round table conference of nonaligned countries here today, Monday, in the sign of Tito's name and nonalignment an encyclopaedic monograph entitled "J.B. Tito" was formally presented in public. The monograph was written by the late Dr Vladimir Bakaric, the revolutionary, statesman, Titoist, and Tito's close associate. This worthy work presents analytical assessments of Tito's overall revolutionary practice and theory in Yugoslavia and in the world since the year 1920. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 2001 GMT 26 Sep 83 LD]